THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

BOSTON, SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1968 — *An International Daily Newspaper* — VOL. 60, NO. 205 TWO SECTIONS — EASTERN EDITION ★ 10¢

FOCUS on Washington

What's ahead . . .

The effort of President Johnson to encourage nationalism in South Vietnam is already bearing fruit—so Washington believes.

In the months ahead a much heavier crop is expected.

Evidence from objective sources here confirms what American officials are saying. The shock of the Tet offensive to a complacent, apathetic, partly corrupt city people, heady with prosperity and ignoring the demands of the war, brought the first real wave of patriotic feeling in years.

Now Mr. Johnson has treated the South Vietnamese President as a partner in Honolulu, and both men are pushing preparations to meet another Tet-type offensive against South Vietnamese cities.

There are signs that the sequence of events is rallying South Vietnamese politicians, military officers, and city civilians to a sober view of their jobs and responsibilities. The result may be a harder line toward settlement of the war.

Mr. Johnson thinks that is the quickest route to persuading Hanoi to settle.

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When the man with the tape recorder knocks on the door these days in Washington, chances are he's not a reporter.

He probably is one of that host of interviewers who are scouring the capital to compile an "oral history" of the Lyndon B. Johnson administration.

The President has brought Dr. Joe B. Frantz here to oversee the gathering of both spoken and written material. Dr. Frantz is chairman of the history department of the University of Texas.

All key participants in policy formulation and decisionmaking plus those who have worked on Great Society task forces will be interviewed for the new Johnson Library in Austin.

Trends . . .

Police in Washington have added another "weapon" to their crime arsenal.

But their "shots" are all celluloid.

When police prepared to make mass arrests on the Capitol grounds of the marchers from Resurrection City, several officers were armed with cameras.

As each marcher was arrested for unlawful assembly, a picture was made of the individual charged with the crime, and the arresting officer. Thus when it came time for each individual to have a preliminary hearing, he could be readily identified by the arresting officer.

This innovation in police procedure was ordered after considerable confusion during the April riots in Washington. Several of those arrested were "lost" because they gave fictitious names, and then could not be identified when the arresting officers tried to sort them out of the large number of people in jail.

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The nation's political winds may again be changing course.

This spring many gloomy Democrats were all but conceding a 1968 Republican takeover of the House. That would require a GOP pickup of 31 seats in November.

But now—with Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey almost sure to lead their ticket—Democrats have taken heart. They're even talking of improving their House strength with an assist from Alabama's George C. Wallace.

To control the House effectively, Northern Democrats figure they would need to win about 25 Republican seats.

Pollster George Gallup recently buoyed Democratic hopes when he noted a nationwide resurgence of sentiment for the majority. His sampling projected a Democratic victory nearly as decisive as the landslide triumph of 1964.

How and why . . .

Canny Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen is trying to save his Republican Party from an embarrassing development.

It stems from the confirmation of Associate Justice Abe Fortas as Chief Justice.

Below the surface, a widespread feeling is developing among Jewish organizations that the anti-Fortas drive is anti-Jewish. It is recalled that Justices Louis Brandeis and Felix Frankfurter also met Senate opposition.

In this case, the anti-Fortas fight is led by Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R) of Michigan and a group of GOP conservatives and Southern Democrats. They oppose Mr. Justice Fortas's liberalism and charge President Johnson with cronyism.

Senate Minority Leader Dirksen backs the Fortas nomination. And he's eager to show that opposition is neither a party nor a religious matter.

Confirmation requires only a majority of the Senate. And this is almost certainly present — if it can be brought to a vote.

Where to look

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Air snarl defies panaceas

By George H. Favre
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

The massive aerial traffic jam that grips the nation's major airports is a tangle that no one yet has been brave enough to tackle.

No one needs to describe the conditions to anyone who has flown in recent days:

- **Not to the passenger on the July 14 flight from Europe whose plane circled over Kennedy International Airport for 2½ hours, then sat on the ground in stifling heat for another 30 minutes.**
- **Not to the passenger July 19 whose Eastern Air Lines shuttle flight from La Guardia to Washington was simply canceled.**
- **Not to the man whose nonstop jet flight from Los Angeles to O'Hare Field in Chicago on July 24 came up No. 95 in the lineup of aircraft waiting for landing instructions.**

These symptoms of massive disruption in the nation's air-traffic system are suddenly the order of the day.

Suddenly, but not unexpectedly.

Airlines, pilots, air-traffic-control personnel, airport operators, and federal

★ Please turn to Page 3

By John Littlewood, staff photographer

A grueling job, a mammoth problem

A crucial shortage of air-traffic controllers is adding to current airport-congestion problems. Keeping track of increasing air traffic, six days a week, is tedious work.

By Peter Main, photo staff

'Purely personal'

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy on his withdrawal from vice-presidential prospects: "My reasons arise from the change in my personal situation and responsibilities as a result of the events of last month."

Kennedy impact

Senator's 'no' heightens Humphrey's difficulties

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's withdrawal from the vice-presidential consideration has, more than anything else, enhanced the prospect of an extremely close presidential contest in the fall.

Without the Massachusetts Senator on the ballot, Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey may find great difficulty in rallying the liberals, the youth, the Negroes, the ethnic groups, and the so-called "alienated" and "disenchanted" generation to his side.

A Humphrey-Kennedy ticket might have been unbeatable. Polls had indicated this would be the case.

Up to the moment of withdrawal the Kennedy decision has been in doubt.

Some political observers were convinced that in the end the Senator would decide that his candidacy would be all-important to the Democratic Party—and would put this consideration first in coming to a decision.

Other prospects listed

Senator Kennedy said in his statement: "My reasons are purely personal. They arise from the change of my personal situation and responsibilities as a result of the events of last month. I know that the members of the Democratic Party will understand these reasons without further elaboration."

Where will Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey go now for a running mate—if Mr. Humphrey, as now expected, turns out to be the Democratic presidential nominee?

Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy and United States Ambassador to France R. Sargent Shriver (Senator Kennedy's brother-in-law) are said to be high on the vice-presidential list.

Adlai E. Stevenson III, Illinois State Treasurer, has been mentioned.

Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma and Tom Connally of Texas are other names that are believed to be on Mr. Humphrey's list.

Governors advise Humphrey

But none of the above would have the voter pulling power of Senator Kennedy.

With Senator Kennedy on the ballot, the Humphrey-Kennedy ticket might have been unbeatable.

Now the road ahead for Mr. Humphrey is bound to be a difficult one. He will have to make it in November pretty much on his own. He can't expect too much from the man in the second slot, whoever he will be. Because it now appears to be definite that that man will not be a Kennedy.

In Austin, Texas, Friday, Gov. John Connally said he and five other Southern governors urged Vice-President Humphrey to choose a running mate "more moderate than you are."

Governor Connally said the Vice-President "basically agreed with that."

Governor Connally also said the governors and Mr. Humphrey discussed growth of support for former Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama but said the meeting was not a "stop Wallace" planning session.

Nixon outlook: Page 12

Soviets set harsh terms for Czechs

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Prague

The freedoms gained by Czechoslovakia in the past six months are in danger, according to the version of Soviet terms for the coming talks which has reached this correspondent from a wholly authoritative source.

The information is that the Russians will demand these four major concessions:

- Postponement of the extraordinary party congress which the Czechoslovak leaders summoned for early September;
- Czechoslovak consent to the presence of Warsaw Pact troops, including Soviet units, in western Bohemia in defense of the border with West Germany;
- The return of censorship for all Czechoslovak news and information and publishing media;
- The prohibition of non-Communist, dissenting groups or parties.

Unhappily, the line taken by the harsh Soviet attacks on the Prague reformers in the past few menacing weeks is confirmation enough that these are probably the conditions confronting them in their fight for survival.

Conditions assessed

All four conditions would demolish the reform program and the concept of a new national independence adopted after the January triumph over the former Stalinist dictatorship.

The first condition is designed to gain time for the defeated conservative opposition after the preparatory congress meetings which elected enough reform-minded delegates to ensure a progressive majority on the new party Central Committee.

The second stipulation—a demand which even the ousted Muscovite ex-party leader and President Antonin Novotny was reported to have resisted—is a sequel to Soviet protests about reported insecurity of the western border as a result of Prague's readiness for an easier relationship and economic cooperation with West Germany.

Acceptance of the third and fourth of these terms would demolish the freedoms of expression in which intellectuals and the population at large have reveled after 20 years of censorship and oppression.

In the face of these uncompromising demands, however, Czechoslovak First Party Secretary Alexander Dubcek and his supporters on the party Presidium and Central Committee appear undismayed.

At this writing there is no sign that they are weakening in their resolution or in their

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Inside today

Where will the money go after Vietnam war ends?

Just how big Uncle Sam's bankroll will be, if and when the Vietnam war ends, depends on the point of view. In Washington there are at least two ways of looking at it.

The budget watchers: Page 11

Airlines grapple with skyjack menace

Is it possible to stop the hijacking of airliners in flight? So far no solutions have been found. Until one is, the pilot must obey the instructions of the skyjacker rather than endanger his passengers.

Story: Page 4

Astronomer Royal tells of celestial riches

Astronomy solves no social problems. But like music it enriches mankind. It makes men think more deeply about the universe and mefr place in it, says Britain's Astronomer Royal.

First page, second section

Peking influence on Hanoi tested

By a staff cartographer

New evidence of Hanoi-Peking rifts

By John Hughes
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong

In Peking, as in Moscow, Communist power and influence are being tested in the flame of rebellious nationalism.

While Czechoslovakia gives Kremlin leaders sleepless nights, North Vietnam is quietly causing just as much agitation in Peking.

In recent days, new evidence has emerged of the rift between Hanoi and Peking as a result of North Vietnam's increasingly independent war policy.

For the first time, for instance, Chinese Communist sources have themselves admitted that anti-Hanoi demonstrations have taken place at North Vietnamese consulates inside China.

If true this is serious news for China's Communist leaders. For as Czechoslovakia is for Moscow the test of its slipping control over Eastern Europe, Vietnam is the touchstone of Communist China's foreign policy.

For Mao Tse-tung, Vietnam is a crucial

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2nd Cl Post Pd at Boston, Mass., and addl offices

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Dzu trial in Saigon vexes U.S.

By Beverly Deepe
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Saigon

Much to the embarrassment, if not surprise, of American officials here the trial and sentencing of Truong Dinh Dzu, who publicly advocated "talks" with the Viet Cong actually took place.

Mr. Dzu, the "peace" candidate, who was the runner-up in South Vietnam's presidential election last year, was sentenced to five years at hard labor.

The trial was held before a five-man military tribunal with an understrength company of television cameramen and journalists present.

Mr. Dzu sat confidently on the front row of wooden benches beside his pink-robed wife. He was, for the day at least, the lightning rod in the relationship between American and Vietnamese officials which has grown more uneasy here since the Honolulu conference ended last weekend.

The Saigonese man in the street did not appear very interested in the trial, since Mr. Dzu is widely regarded in Vietnamese circles as a "corrupt opportunist," as one source explained. But, the repercussions in Saigon may be quite different—and the situation open to exploitation from Viet Cong propagandists or the leftist nationalists.

The Vietnamese Government's "protective custody" of Mr. Dzu in a Saigon police station and the court session charging him for advocating "talks" with the National Liberation Front—the political arm of the Viet Cong—have drawn private disapproval from American officials, informed sources report, as well as from liberal circles abroad. They have called the proceedings undemocratic.

Hundreds set free

Ironically, the Vietnamese Government appears to be applying a two-fisted policy: It has recently become much more liberal in its domestic affairs by granting relatively significant degrees of more freedom internally, while at the same time using a steel finger to draw the line where that freedom ends on the highly explosive issue of its relations with the Viet Cong.

Government sources report that Premier Tran Van Huong has ordered reviews of many political detainees and that they must either be tried immediately or released. "Hundreds" have been released rather than allowed to remain for long periods in government jails, as was the previous practice.

The courtroom, inside a heavily sentried compound, on the Saigon waterfront, was extremely austere and dilapidated.

Six Vietnamese military policemen, with new M-16 automatic rifles pointed ceilingward, moved through the room. Then the judge, Maj. Trweu Khac Huynh, entered the room, flanked by a captain, two lieutenants, and one master sergeant, all of whom took seats at the bench.

Then, the charge against Mr. Dzu was read: "Activities that weaken the anti-Communist spirit of the South Vietnamese Armed Forces and people." Specifically, that on April 14 and 15, after being released from protective custody, Mr. Dzu had told correspondents of United Press International and the Times (London) that he advocated "talks" with the National Liberation Front, saying a coalition government with them was unavoidable.

The judge asked Mr. Dzu: "Do you admit the North Vietnamese are carrying out aggression in the South?" Mr. Dzu, standing in front of the judge, replied that was only a hypothesis, or a theory, on which the Vietnamese Government based its position.

Mr. Dzu countered that he only proposed "talking" with, not negotiating with, the Liberation Front. It is a realistic way to end the war, he said.

Then the official prosecutor, also a Vietnamese Army major, made an emotional speech against coalition governments, recalling the past experience in Vietnam when the Communists made a coalition with the Nationalists, and then later the Communists liquidated the Nationalists. He said Mr. Dzu's guilt was similar to that of a young student, sentenced to five years at hard labor earlier this week for printing "false peace and pro-Communist articles in a student newspaper.

Then the defense lawyer, wearing a long black robe with fur neck trim, strode forward. The lawyer was Tran Ngoc Lieng, a former social welfare minister in the Nguyen Cao Ky government and a longtime friend of Mr. Dzu.

Five points of defense

The defense based its argument on five points:

1. The law specified action must be taken against those who commit actions or utter words tending to undermine the anti-Communist spirit of the country, but Mr. Dzu's interviews to the Western journalists were merely expressions of opinion protected by freedom of speech in the Vietnamese Constitution.

2. Mr. Dzu had made an official statement to the Vietnamese police asking why the Vietnamese Government advocated talks with the North Vietnamese regime, which was made up totally of Marxist-Leninist Communists, while he, advocated talks with the National Liberation Front, which was part nationalist and part Communist in composition. He said he proposed to talk only with the nationalist elements in the National Liberation Front.

3. Dr. Phan Quang Dan, who was recently named to and then fired from his ministerial post in the present government, had expressed publicly the same view as Mr. Dzu—but Dr. Dan had only been dismissed from his job and was not brought to trial. Why was one Vietnamese free to express an opinion while another was tried for stating the same view?

4. Mr. Lieng said that according to a dispatch in The Christian Science Monitor, American Ambassador W. Averell Harriman in Paris said, if the National Liberation Front decided to lay down their arms then they would be accepted to participate in South Vietnam's political life.

[Monitor dispatches from Paris and Washington on a number of occasions have emphasized that if individual Viet Cong or National Liberation Front members renounce violence and thereby abandon the objectives of the NLF, they can be absorbed back into the national life of Vietnam as individuals. But it is carefully emphasized that the United States has not said it would deal with the NLF as a unit.]

Mr. Dzu had made the same statement before, Mr. Lieng argued, adding "for this point we must agree that we Vietnamese are quite intelligent people who could, on some occasions, predict things accurately."

Fifth point argued

5. President Nguyen Van Thieu had returned from the Honolulu conference just last week and pledged himself to allowing a "one-man, one-vote" type of election for all the South Vietnamese as a solution to the war—but how could the Communists vote if the government did not talk with them? So, President Thieu had just said the same thing as Mr. Dzu. But in a different way.

On this refrain, the Dzu defense rested its case.

The five military officers, serving as the tribunal, left the room and for one hour and fifteen minutes deliberated the case. Each officer cast his vote by secret ballot.

Then, the five reentered. The major read the verdict: five years at hard labor in prison without an additional sentence of exile upon completion of confinement. The verdict is final with no right of appeal.

Mr. Dzu was then escorted to a gray police van.

Keystone

Prince cuts the daisies

Prince Charles swings a ball through the leg slips during his innings in a recent joint charities cricket match in Kent, England. He was playing for Lord Brabourne's team against 11 Grand Prix motor racing drivers. He scored 20 runs, including a six and two fours.

★ *Peking influence on Hanoi tested*

Continued from Page 1

test of people's war, the embodiment of the extreme ideology behind the cultural revolution, and the justification against accommodation and détente with the West.

Victory in Vietnam is, for Chairman Mao and his believers, imperative.

Of course, the North Vietnamese are not turning their backs on either victory, or communism. But to achieve victory they are pursuing a talk-and-fight policy increasingly at variance with Peking's harsh demand for inflexible, protracted war.

For some time, rumors have been circulating that Hanoi's participation in the Paris peace talks has sparked anti-Vietnamese demonstrations outside North Vietnamese consulates in China.

First reports from Canton

Now comes the first confirmation from Chinese Communist sources. A Red Guard newspaper from Canton, Tsan-kao Tzu-liao, which has just become available in Hong Kong, reports that on June 2 the Vietnamese consulate in Nanning was occupied by demonstrating Chinese who "drove out the consulate's personnel and set up their stronghold there."

Nanning is the capital of Kwangsi region, which abuts North Vietnam. There have been reports of trouble at North Vietnamese consulates in Kunming, the provincial capital of Yunnan, which is also a border province, as well as at Canton, the capital of Kwangtung Province. But the Kunming and Canton demonstrations are not as yet corroborated by evidence from Chinese Communist sources.

The circumstances under which the North Vietnamese consular officials have been harassed are not clear. Nor is it clear which of the various Chinese political factions started the demonstrations, and upon whose authority. But the incidents are regarded by observers as Chinese condemnation of North Vietnam's participation in the Paris Peace talks.

Meahwhile, the strange treatment afforded a top-level visiting North Vietnamese delegation in China is cited as additional evidence of strained relations between Peking and Hanoi.

Blackout on activities

The delegation, headed by North Vietnamese Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi, is seeking new military and economic aid. Prior to visiting Peking, the North Vietnamese concluded successful agreements with Czechoslovakia, East Germany, the Soviet Union, and even North Korea.

But there has been no speedy accord in China. The delegation arrived July 9. Chinese Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien gave them a banquet and some sharp urging to pursue "protracted war." Then came a blackout on the delegation's activities from the Communist news agencies in both Peking and Hanoi.

Souvenirs of new liner

By Reuters

Glasgow

The Cunard shipping line said it expects royalties from the sale of souvenirs of the new liner Queen Elizabeth 2 to bring in about £100,000 ($240,000).

Combat pay for Pueblo?

By the Associated Press

Washington

Combat pay for crewmen of the captured intelligence ship Pueblo would be provided under a bill introduced in the Senate.

Sen. Peter H. Dominick of Colorado, one of the sponsors, said extra hazardous duty pay for the 82 officers and men, captives of North Korea for 170 days, "is the least we can do under these trying circumstances."

The news — briefly

United States . . .

Boston

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D) of Massachusetts took himself out of any consideration for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination with a statement saying "For me, this year, it is impossible."

Senator Kennedy, last survivor of four Kennedy sons, said in a statement that his decision "is final, firm, and not subject to further consideration." He said he is removing himself from consideration because of family responsibilities resulting from the assassination of his brother, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D) of New York last month.

The Massachusetts Senator, in a four-paragraph statement, said he will speak out, however, on "foreign and domestic policies our party must pursue if it is to be successful in the coming election.

He said he appreciated the confidence of Democrats who have proposed him for the national ticket and "under normal circumstances such a possibility would be a high honor and a challenge to further public service."

Cleveland

Squads of national guardsmen and police continued to patrol racially troubled areas of Cleveland after a night of curfew during which 30 arrests were made. Police said 27 of the arrests were for curfew violations, two were for looting, and one for arson.

- In Detroit, roving gangs of juveniles smashed several windows near Detroit's predominantly Negro 12th Street.

Extra police squads stood by overnight following several minor outbreaks the previous night.

Violence also occurred:

- In Maywood, Ill., where a crowd in the integrated Chicago suburb of 30,000 smashed store windows after police used tear gas to disperse demonstrators outside the village hall. There were 25 arrests.
- In Seattle, where police used tear gas to break up a group of disorderly persons in the city's predominantly Negro central area. Earlier a panel truck was set on fire.
- In Erie, Pa., where police and firemen were pelted with rocks and bottles early today when they responded to a fire in the heart of the city's Negro area.

Washington

Sen. Charles H. Percy (R) of Illinois announced he supports New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller for the Republican presidential nomination.

Senator Percy thus abandoned hope of becoming the Illinois favorite son at the Miami Beach nominating convention opening Aug. 5.

Also in New York, the New York Times editorially endorsed Governor Rockefeller for the GOP nomination but refrained from any endorsements in the election.

Washington

The Post Office Department launches the first in a series of manpower cutbacks Saturday, shortening the hours of window service and reducing the number of street corner pickups.

Chicago

Spokesmen for about 5,000 Chicago taxi drivers repeated their warning that they will strike the city's two largest cab companies Aug. 16 if new contracts are not obtained.

A strike against the two companies, Yellow Cab and Checker, could seriously hamper transportation for the Democratic National Convention, scheduled to begin in Chicago Aug. 26.

International . . .

Saigon

Peace campaigner Truong Din Dzu who was runner-up in South Vietnam's presidential election last year has been sentenced to five years at hard labor by a Saigon military court for advocating peace talks with the Viet Cong.

Mr. Dzu was found guilty under a 1965 law making it an offense to commit actions or utter words tending to undermine the anti-Communist spirit of the Vietnamese people or armed forces.

London

Charles Douglas-Home, defense correspondent for the London Times, was expelled from Czechoslovakia Thursday, a spokesman for the newspaper said here.

The spokesman said Mr. Douglas-Home, who was covering Soviet troops withdrawals in eastern Czechoslovakia, arrived in Vienna Friday.

La Paz, Bolivia

The Cabinet of President Barrientos resigned Thursday night in the wake of a disclosure that his Interior Minister was an ally of Fidel Castro and had smuggled a copy of Ernesto "Ché" Guevara's captured diary to Cuba for publication.

London

A special official commission has recommended Britain adopt the metric system of weights and measures by 1975 to conform with the rest of Europe.

The commission, made up of 16 specialists from government and business, said the changeover should start in 1971, when the country switches to decimal currency.

Saigon

Terrorists struck in Saigon Friday for the second time in a week and blew up the city's largest Chinese newspaper.

Police said four young Viet Cong, two of them girls, set off a 60-pound plastic bomb in the press room of A Chau Van Quoc, the Asian Daily News, an anti-Communist paper which supports the Saigon government. No casualties were reported.

Pretoria, South Africa

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith arrived here Friday for talks with Prime Minister John Vorster of South Africa.

They were expected to discuss the threat to Rhodesian security posed by new attacks across the Zambesi River by African nationalist guerrillas which are being met by combined South African and Rhodesian forces.

News of July 25 and 26 compiled from Associated Press, Reuters, and the worldwide sources of this newspaper.

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GRAND UNION
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Negro militants aroused

California slaying trial of 'Black Panther' leader brings warning of 'armed war in the streets'

By John Littlewood, staff photographer

Eldridge Cleaver, "minister of justice" for the Black Panther Party, at a New York press conference demands the release of Panther leader Huey P. Newton. Mr. Newton is standing trial in California, charged with the slaying of an Oakland policeman. Mr. Cleaver predicted "armed war in the streets" if Mr. Newton is not freed.

By David Holmstrom
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

While the trial of Huey P. Newton was beginning in Oakland, Calif., a tall Negro dressed in black and wearing dark glasses stood before a cluster of microphones in New York City and said:

". . . The Black Panther Party demands that Huey P. Newton be set free. And we wish to make it very clear that if he is not set free, there is little hope of avoiding open armed war in the streets of California and of preventing it from sweeping across this nation."

The man at the microphone was Eldridge Cleaver. He and Mr. Newton are members of the militant Black Panther Party, a two-year-old California-based activist organization which claims H. Rap Brown as an "honorary minister of justice" and Stokely Carmichael as "honorary prime minister."

In less than a year the Black Panther Party has become the focal point of the Negro "revolutionary movement" with chapters in Los Angeles, San Diego, New York, Detroit, and San Francisco. The Panthers' total membership is unknown.

Dramatic debut recalled

The Panthers first sprang into prominence last year when a group from Oakland walked into the California State Assembly in Sacramento carrying rifles and pistols in a blatant attempt to proclaim their existence and daring.

Their leader was, and still is, Huey P. Newton, although Mr. Cleaver is their chief spokesman.

Mr. Newton is on trial in Oakland charged with killing an Oakland policeman on Oct. 28, 1967. Mr. Cleaver, an ex-convict on parole and author of the book "Soul on Ice," is the articulate "minister of information" for the Panthers. He said:

"Huey P. Newton is not guilty of any crime. [He] continues to keep the faith with the struggle of his people and has become a national shining symbol and rallying point in the determined struggle of black people for their national liberation."

On the night of Oct. 28, Mr. Newton and another man were riding in a car that was stopped by an Oakland policeman. Within a few moments another patrolman arrived on the scene and identified Mr. Newton. He was placed under arrest.

As he was being walked to the patrol car, shooting began. The first policeman was killed and the second was wounded as he fired at Mr. Newton, wounding him in the stomach. The second policeman has said that he did not see Mr. Newton shooting.

Mr. Newton contends that he was framed —that the shooting incident stemmed from a police plot against him.

In an effort to create worldwide support for Mr. Newton, the Panthers want the "oppressed and colonized" people of the world to organize demonstrations before "the embassies, consulates, and property of the imperialist exploiters" (the United States) in other countries.

They also want the United Nations to authorize UN observer teams "throughout the cities of America where black people are cooped up and concentrated in wretched ghettos."

To emphasize their international appeal, a press conference was called in a building across from UN headquarters. Mr. Cleaver said he had met with "representatives of Cuba and Tanzania" and also saw many similarities between the emerging African nations and "the colonized black people of the United States."

Warning of violence

At the press conference Mr. Cleaver stood with 13 members of the Panthers' central committee, including Bobby Seale, one of the founders. Most wore black pants and coats with blue shirts. Some wore dark glasses and "Free Huey" buttons.

At one point Mr. Cleaver said, "The trip here [from California] has been expensive to us. Some of us don't know how we're going to get back. If any of you want to give us money we'll take it right now."

Asked what the Panthers would do if Mr. Newton were convicted, Mr. Cleaver said, "If the execution of Huey P. Newton takes place it will be over our dead bodies and the dead bodies of the 'pigs' [policemen]."

He said the Panthers were willing to submit Mr. Newton to a jury trial but "that it had to be a jury of his peers, not these old, bald-headed racists who have predetermined to send Huey to the chair."

Black Panthers state demands

★ Air-traffic snarl defies panaceas

Continued from Page 1

agencies have been issuing warnings for months and years that the nation's ground facilities for handling air traffic were reaching the saturation point. The number of takeoffs and landings at airports with Federal Aviation Administration towers jumped by 80 percent in the five-year period from 1962 to 1967.

By 1974, it will double again.

The main reason, of course, is the enormous increase in the number of air travelers. A booming economy has spurred more travel both for business and pleasure. Existing airports have been busily adding runways, expanding passenger facilities, speeding up baggage-handling with such devices as detachable pods, conveyer belts, and carousels.

Airlines have been buying more, bigger, and faster planes. Bigger and faster ones are on the assembly lines right now, with delivery dates just a matter of months away.

Expansion blocked

But you can't as readily expand the number of acres that a modern jetport demands. With land costs in crowded metropolitan areas soaring at an astronomical rate, existing airports are frozen in.

And while every aviation expert agrees that new airports are needed, nobody wants one near his house.

New York has been trying to put in a fourth jetport for a decade. New Jersey says no. Westchester County says no. Long Island says no. Homeowners say no. Conservationists say no. Even Congress says no—it voted in a bill that made the Great Meadows of Northern New Jersey a national wildlife preserve, favoring feathers over aluminum.

Alternatives noted

In any case, the crisis is here and now. Even if New York, or Chicago, or Washington decided today to build a new airport on Location X, it would take 5-10 years to acquire the land, plan, and build the facility.

There are more immediate solutions. And each has its nettlesome aspects. None of the responsible agencies is grabbing for these either. They include:

- Rescheduling passenger flights away from peak hours and spreading them out over the day. By this simple expedient, pressures could be relieved for years.
- Giving commercial transports priority over private, nonscheduled flights in use of major terminals.
- Hiring and training more air-traffic controllers and speeding up the automation of traffic-control systems at the major airports.

Regulation resisted

The first of these possibilities would be the cheapest and most direct. But airlines operators resist the whole idea of rescheduling. The reasons are obvious enough. Air transportation is a highly competitive business which essentially is selling time and convenience. Each one vies for the most-favored takeoff and landing hours.

At present, no federal agency has the authority to tell an airline how it may schedule flights. And the airline lobby in Washington sternly resists any suggestions that Congress bestow such powers on the regulatory agencies. Even so, this possibility is becoming increasingly attractive to some congressmen.

On the other hand, the commercial airlines are seeking priority for their aircraft over private or corporate flights in and out of major airports. Only this week Stuart Tipton of the Air Transport Association wrote the Federal Aviation Administration urging that it "protect millions of the flying public from massive delay and hardships" in this manner.

Need underestimated

Such groups as the Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association and the National Business Aircraft Association are fighting this proposal vigorously. They argue that the current first-come, first-served basis for landings and takeoffs is the only equitable one in a nation where airways are nobody's private property.

Beefing up the number of air-traffic controllers would help ease the crisis, but not significantly. All aviation experts are agreed that there is a crucial shortage of controllers, due largely to a serious underestimation by the FAA of the growth in air traffic. From 1963 to 1967 it failed to actively recruit and train any significant number of controllers.

Currently controllers work a six-day week at one of the most grueling jobs around, especially when flights start backing up as they have been in recent weeks.

The FAA had 13,000 controllers in 1967 and has added another 1,000 over the past year. Currently Congress is jockeying over the Department of Transportation appropiation bill for 1969, torn between its own mandate to cut back on personnel for economy reasons and the stark need for more air-traffic controllers.

The House appropriation bill provides for $663 million, including enough to hire and train 1,600 more controllers. The Senate added $15.7 million for still another 2,000 persons. The final figure must be ironed out in joint conference.

In any case, it takes 2-5 years to train an air-traffic controller fully to handle any of the several operations involved, so the impact of this new appropriation will not be felt for a long while.

Automation of regional air-traffic-control centers has already been started, and major airports will follow. This effort, however, won't be completed until some time in the 1970's. Even then, automation will ease the burden on human operators, but will not replace them.

For the present, however, the air crisis is a fact that Congress, the regulatory agencies, the aviation industry, and the flying public have to live with. Unless, of course, either courage or the pressure of events moves the Congress to seize on one or more of the distasteful alternatives.

California law requires antismog devices by '70

By the Associated Press

Sacramento, Calif.

California has a new law aimed at cleaning its air by 1975. The law would force the nation's automakers to develop better antismog devices or risk losing their richest market.

Gov. Ronald Reagan signed the Pure Air Act of 1968 July 24.

Surrounded by Democratic and Republican legislators, Governor Reagan declared it "represents a major step toward removing the automobile as a primary source of air pollution in California."

The heart of the act is a set of standards clamping limits on the amount of gases that can be emitted into the atmosphere from motor vehicle exhausts —the source of 50 percent or more of smog.

The standards take effect with the 1970 model year for gasoline-powered cars, buses, and trucks, and toughen gradually through 1974.

The "California goal for pure air quality is the achievement of an atmosphere with no significant detectable adverse effect from motor vehicle air pollution on health, welfare, and the quality of life and property by 1975," the law says.

The penalty for those who cannot meet the standards: Their cars, starting with the 1970 model, cannot be sold or registered in California, which has 12 million motor vehicles, and more than 10 percent of America's licensed drivers.

The measure includes a provision, however, that would allow a board appointed by the governor to temporarily exempt an auto manufacturer from the smog limits if he could show he was working on the problem.

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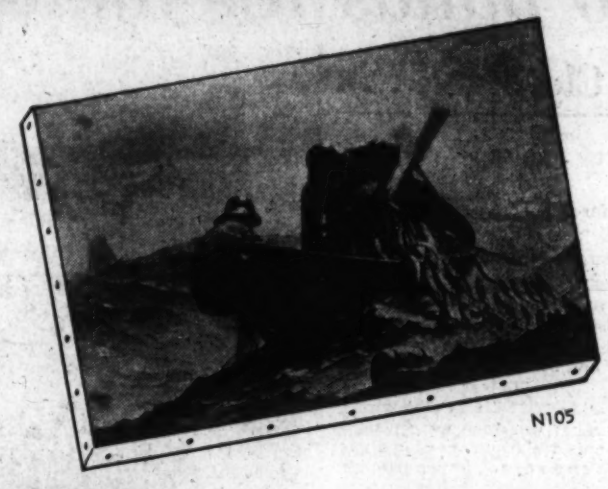

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FAA and airlines grope for solution to skyjacking menace

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Mexico City

Is it possible to stop the skyjacking of airliners?

This is the question being asked with increasing frequency as the number of planes forced at gunpoint to fly to Cuba mounts.

Airline officials, as well as officials of the United States Federal Aviation Agency, have no ready answers.

Last week's skyjacking of a National Airlines Los Angeles-to-Miami DC-8 by a young Cuban brandishing a gun and what turned out to be a fake grenade again dramatizes the perplexing question and illustrates the seriousness of the situation.

The National Airlines hijacking was the ninth of this year and the third in less than a week. Most of the planes have been United States commercial craft, but both Colombian and Venezuelan airplanes have been involved also.

So far no solutions to the skyjackings have been evolved. The airlines flying into and around Florida have alerted their ground personnel to take special care in observing passengers at airports and at gate ramps. But this is far from the sort of solution being looked for by airline and FAA officials.

Airlines instruct pilots

Under present instructions from the airlines, pilots must take a skyjacker anywhere he wants to go rather than endanger the airplane and its passengers. In fact, the airlines flying in and around Florida have given special instructions to their pilots on the approaches to Havana's José Martí airport.

Such instructions, of course, give a potential skyjacker an upper hand. But FAA officials in Miami and Washington have recently indicated that until a surefire preventive measure is devised, such instructions are the only ones that can be issued.

These officials point out that if a potential skyjacker, brandishing a gun, got into a struggle with an armed guard or pilot aboard the craft, the prospects of injuring either passengers or pilots would mount. Moreover, bullet holes in the skin of the airplane could cause an explosion.

In the case of the National Airlines skyjacking last week, the young Cuban involved kept command of the big jet even when it landed at New Orleans for a fuel stop. During the stop, the plane's pilot kept the engines running, a dangerous step, because the skyjacker ordered it. The refueling took 28 minutes, and then the big jet lifted off for its flight to Havana. The refueling stop was a new wrinkle in the series of skyjackings in recent months.

'Solution' offered

The United States State Department, in a recent move, offered one solution which might have some success. Hoping to curtail the number of skyjackings, the department announced July 11 that Cuban exiles wishing to return to their homeland would be permitted to ride free to Havana aboard the empty "freedom airlift" planes which carry Cuban refugees daily from the island to Miami.

In announcing the plan, a State Department spokesman said it was hoped the step "would remove some of the incentive that may have led to the hijacking of United States commercial airliners" by exiles seeking to return to their homeland.

The plan would have to have approval of the Cuban Government—and so far Havana has been silent on the proposal.

The so-called "freedom airlift" has been in operation since November, 1965. It consists of two daily flights chartered by the United States Government and which have brought out close to 100,000 Cuban refugees in the past 2½ years. The planes fly empty to Veradero airport 90 miles from Havana and fly to Miami loaded with refugees.

In two of the recent skyjacking incidents, the passengers of the planes involved have not been permitted to return to the United States aboard the jet aircraft because of the shortness of runways at Havana's airport. These passengers have instead been taken by bus to Veradero and put aboard one of the airlift planes for a return to Miami.

United States officials have questioned the Cuban ruling on Havana's runways, noting that planes involved in earlier hijackings have been able to use the runways with full passenger loads.

Cuban authorities, however, say that the runways are simply not long enough.

In all the skyjackings so far, dating back to 1961 and totaling about two dozen incidents, Cuban authorities have quickly cleared the planes and passengers for return to either the United States, Colombia, or Venezuela—the country or origin of the plane — after the airline paid refueling charges through the Swiss Embassy in Havana.

The Swiss represent the interests of the three countries in question—since none of them maintains diplomatic relations with the government of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Soviets still stress A-subs

By the Associated Press

Moscow

The Soviet Navy's surface fleet has undergone great changes and now is built around missile ships and antisubmarine vessels, a top Soviet admiral reports.

Fleet Adm. Vladimir A. Kasatonov, first deputy commander in chief of the Navy, told the official Soviet news agency Tass that the main shock force of the Navy, however, remained its submarines.

"Our atomic submarines," he said, "have a great range of operations and are equipped with missiles and long-range self-homing torpedoes which can hit from great distances targets at sea and important strategic objects on land."

His comments came as a Soviet cruiser and an antisubmarine ship returned to the Soviet Union from an extended tour of Asian and Middle Eastern ports.

Ohio builds for the arts

ARTS
ENTERTAINMENT

In Cleveland . . .

By John Allen

Cleveland

Six hours before the opening of the Cleveland Orchestra's new outdoor summer home the grounds were a blur of last-minute activity. Bulldozers were spreading rock and gravel in the parking lots; sod was being laid on still-bare slopes while a youth labor force attached cushions to the seats in the patron's boxes and stocked the refreshment stands.

Television station WKYC was still wiring up for its coverage; workmen were pounding nails, sweeping walkways, posting signs —even spraying green dye on brown patches of grass.

A large outdoor sculpture by Alexander Calder received a last coat of paint; Robert Morris's untitled aluminum I-beam sculpture was still being bolted together. Both were part of the "Monumental Sculpture" exhibition, put together by the Cleveland Museum of Art, and included on the grounds.

At four in the afternoon the orchestra was gathering under the colossal clamshell for a rehearsal postponed by an emergency curfew in Akron the night before. Workmen were still busy everywhere.

At 8:30 p.m., however—right on schedule —several thousand Northern Ohioans and interested guests from elsewhere rose to sing "The Star Spangled Banner"—and by 10:30 p.m. on July 19, 1968, the Blossom Music Center had swung past the point that divides the building of dreams from the building of tradition.

Beethoven's Ninth

For the opening of the center, conductor George Szell chose two works by Beethoven, opus numbers 124 and 125: the "Consecration of the House" Overture—written for the opening of Vienna's "Theater in der Josephstadt"—and the Ninth Symphony.

It was the playing and singing of the "Choral" Symphony, however, which truly inaugurated the center. The humor of its second movement, the contemplative grace of the third, and the overruning power and joy of the fourth movement sought out and tested the resonances and dimensions of the pavilion just as surely as they displayed the genius of Beethoven and the talents of the Cleveland Orchestra. Mr. Szell's conducting was controlled and sharp, illuminating nuances in the score without sacrificing the monumental power of the whole. The music and the center did one another justice.

Ground-breaking

Ground-breaking for the complex pavilion had taken place only a year before. Work had continued throughout the orchestra's 50th anniversary year so that the year might be climaxed with the beginning of a new phase in the orchestra's development.

The inauguration of a summer series of concerts does more than extend the number of opportunities for the Cleveland Orchestra to be heard: It provides the orchestra with year-round employment—an increasingly important fact of life in the economics of culture.

The center's development is coordinated with the summer educational activities of Kent State University. Between them a festival school is being organized which will increase the vitality of the center's contribution to the cultural life of the region it serves. Like Tanglewood, Meadow Brook, and Ravinia, the Blossom Music Center will doubtless add to the cultural life of the nation as well.

The summer orchestral season runs through Sept. 1, closing with the appearance of the New York City Ballet. Guests conductors for the Friday-to-Sunday concerts will include Charles Munch, William Steinberg, Aaron Copland, and Karel Ančern, among others.

Soloists will include Phillippe Entremont, Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, Pierre Fournier, and John Browning in works by Saint-Saëns, Richard Strauss, Dvořák, and Prokofiev.

It was once traditional—perhaps necessary —to start such things in a small way and build them up gradually over the years. While such a pattern of growth may still hold true, Cleveland has not "begun small." Its base in the Blossom Music Center is a broad one, its opening season an attractive one, its dreams obviously ambitious and its potential as yet unknown. For Ohioans, however, and for their visitors, there is something new under the sun for those who care to stop, look, and listen.

Bird's-eye view

. . . through a fish-eye lens of Cincinnati's new Playhouse in the Park. The recent openings of the playhouse and the Blossom Music Center outside Cleveland are discussed on this page.

. . . and in Cincinnati

By Melvin Maddocks

Cincinnati

The community game of let's-build-us-a-theater is still in full craze. Any number can play—contractors, civic boosters, between-things actors, bored audiences in search of a subscription series. It's like a play in itself with a part written for everybody, and perhaps that's why it's so popular. At any rate, the edifice complex, as it has become more or less officially known, has reached Cincinnati by way of Minneapolis, Los Angeles—you name your favorite city.

The Robert S. Marx Theater in Eden Park opened last week under the auspices of a gala thunderstorm and all the odd mixture of Chamber of Commerce pomp and Bohemian swagger considered the simple norm for these events. Which of your neighbors dares to wear a Nehru jacket, comb his hair in bangs, and carry a rose? Go to a new theater opening and see.

The Marx Theater is a functional concrete-and-glass structure perched high on a knoll. One approaches it across a sort of patio dotted with an obstacle course of what are identified as "blue airport landing lights." There are five levels to the theater loosely organized by mirrored walls and a matching green carpeted ceiling 40 feet above the carpeted floor in the lobby. The 672 splendidly vantaged seats curve gently about a half-in-the-round stage.

Experience apparent

The first production to occupy it is Tennessee Williams' "Camino Real" (1953). The Playhouse in the Park, as the company is known, brings six years of history to its new home. This is no case of instant edifice, instant artists. The experience, the professionalism, the special family-feel of resident theater is visibly present.

Williams' play makes explicit and bare as only allegory can the theme which runs implicitly through all his plays. It is, baldly put—and Williams does put it baldly—about desperate dreamers pushed to the edge of nothingness, hoping against hope that they will look over that edge and find, to their surprise, some Promised Land.

Salvation mostly comes under the name of love, though Williams also rather quaintly uses the word "brotherhood" here. Casanova, Lord Byron, Don Quixote, and Marguerite Gautier are among the lost ghostly exiles fantastically searching for the Answer in one of those small Latin American towns that vie with the decayed South as Williams' notion of purgatory.

All this has been staged with dash and flair by Michael Kahn. He uses the height of his new backdrop to spread out a décor that includes bigger-than-life posters and flashing neon signs—the theater as a sort of highway-of-life. The ramp aisles are full of sprinting actors, staging chase scenes and making melodramatic entrances and exits.

New-toy syndrome

The new-toy syndrome that a fresh theater presents threatens at times to turn the production into a sequence of hijinx. What saves it, ironically, may be no more "true" Tennessee Williams. It is Kahn's final decision to stylize "Camino Real" as a sort of early piece of theater of cruelty. The "Marat/Sade" stamp is laid on. Al Freeman Jr. as Kilroy and Ellen Holly as Marguerite Gautier are the "stars," but—as resident theater probably should and perhaps must be—this is a production dominated by virtuoso directing rather than virtuoso performance.

On Aug. 8, "Crime on Goat Island" by Ugo Betti will be presented. It might have made a more adventurous but, alas, a less sure-fire opening than Tennessee Williams. In its own terms of playing it safe — of reaching its audience—regional theater reproduces on a smaller scale all the problems of Broadway compromise it was invented to escape. Playhouse in the Park has the look of an energetic, vital enterprise. But when you build a $1-million theater and have to fill it, you are back with at least some of the pressures a mass public induces. The problems are not, of course, insoluble to talent and energy, and producer Brooks Jones and his company will be one of the foremost groups to watch if general resolutions are to be found.

Mercenaries for Rhodesia?

By Reuters

Algiers

Between 80 and 100 foreign mercenaries were recently recruited in Belgium to fight for the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia, Mohamed Sahnoun, Algerian deputy secretary-general of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), said.

Mr. Shanoun also said independent African countries would provide liberation movements on the continent with officers, military advisers, and guerrilla experts.

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Schumann: Piano concerto (Frager version)
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Strauss: Suite from 'Der Rosenkavalier'

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Strauss: 'Dance of the Seven Veils' from SALOME
Stravinsky: Firebird Suite

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Programs subject to change.

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Krenek: Horizon Circled
•TRYTHALL: CONTINUUMS FOR ORCHESTRA
Powell: Immobiles, I, II, III, IV
Blacher: Orchester Ornamente
8 pm THEATRE

TUESDAY, AUGUST 6
CHAMBER MUSIC
Schwantner: Chronicon for Bassoon and Piano
Moss: Exchanges
Harris: Ludus (Chamber concerto for 10 instruments)
•McKINLEY: PREMISES AND EXPOSITIONS
London: Portraits of 3 Ladies (American)
8 pm THEATRE

WED., AUGUST 7
•'ELEPHANT STEPS'—OPERA
Music by Stanley Silverman
Libretto by Richard Foreman
BERKSHIRE MUSIC CENTER ORCHESTRA and VOCAL SOLOS
ERICH LEINSDORF, conductor
Schönberg: Die Glückliche Hand
8 pm THEATRE

THURSDAY, AUGUST 8
CHAMBER MUSIC
Imbrie: String Quartet no. 3
Maneri: Chamber Piece for Woodwinds, Brass and Percussion
•DE VOTO: THE DISTINGUISHED THING (Concerto #3 for Piano and 12 instruments)
Cogan: "Whirl . . . ds (i)"
8 pm THEATRE

SATURDAY, AUG. 10
FACULTY RECITAL
Ives: Sonatas for Violin and Piano
Paul Zukofsky, violin
Gilbert Kalish, pianist
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By Peter Main, photo staff

More than 35,000 jammed Boston's Fenway Park to hear Senator McCarthy, while 10,000 more stood outside unable to get in

McCarthy 'touches all bases' at rally in Boston ball park

By Scott Pecker
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy—the Democrats' persistent long shot—appears to be steadily lengthening his strides as the Democratic primary looms just 30 days down the home stretch.

The level of his popular support was extremely visible Thursday night as the Senator was greeted by a screaming, smiling, overflowing crowd of more than 40,000 at Boston's baseball park.

It was the biggest crowd in the history of Fenway Park.

Behind the scenes, too, there is special confidence in the Senator's drive. One of his key aides says nobody, including Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey, will win on the first ballot.

"And if Humphrey doesn't win on the first ballot, I don't think he can win," continued Norval Reece, the Senator's scheduler and one of his general advisers.

Mr. Reece contends that after the first ballot, the convention will be guided more by popular movement than by party machinery—and Senator McCarthy is apparently ahead at the moment on that scoring system as the polls already indicate.

Humphrey strength peaked?

Late national polls show that front-runner Humphrey's strength has peaked and seems to be ebbing, while Senator McCarthy's is continuing to billow.

Mr. Reece says it is just a question of time whether Mr. McCarthy can overtake the Vice-President at the convention. "And I think we have enough time—but barely," he added.

To win the nomination, the Democratic candidate must receive 1,312 votes. Mr. Humphrey now is given between 600-900—depending on the polltaker — and Senator McCarthy about 400. McCarthy forces, however, insist the Senator has almost 500. And they see Mr. Humphrey definitely slipping.

Once the first ballot is passed, reasons Mr. Reece, party regulars will no longer feel an obligation to vote for Mr. Humphrey and will already have been shorn of their notion that he is a "winner."

The audience at Boston's overflow rally showed the vast and dramatic differences between the Senator's first small meetings held in Cambridge seven months ago and his strength today.

Few blacks observed

The audience at this rally was a blend—not just young people, but supporters of all ages.

This reporter saw few blacks in attendance, underscoring one of the most-often heard criticisms of the Senator: "He is only a one-issue [Vietnam] candidate."

Mr. McCarthy, of course, disagrees. He says his approach has been a mixture of domestic and international thoughts. Vietnam has had more emphasis simply because of its overriding importance.

One black couple attending the rally said: "I think he can be reasoned with. I see him needing some more time in learning about the black issue, but he's very capable as a human being of learning about this problem. You might say he's not yet saved, but he's learning very fast. He's the best of the alternatives."

The Senator's speech was philosophic. Much of it had been given before. It dealt with underlying, fundamental assumptions about this country and its policies.

He called, not for a new politics, but for a return to the old politics of "openness, confidence, and trust."

Promises recounted

This politics, he said, "reflects a confidence in the power of the people to bring about a change when change is necessary."

He listed promise after promise—in housing, health, and education—that had been previously made but unfulfilled.

"The challenge is not just to propose new programs or to talk about old programs which are unrealized," he said, "but to understand the limits and the possibilities of all of the programs that we have proposed. It is time to have done with the language of promise . . . excess and of exaggeration."

On his favorite subject, Vietnam, he said: "We must undertake to pass a judgment on the war in midcourse—to say we think what we are doing is unwise, even to admit it is wrong."

New phase of violence?

Watts concerned over Cleveland

By Kimmis Hendrick
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

Right at this moment, Cleveland is the big subject of concern in Watts.

County Human Relations Commission staff members spent all one day following the Cleveland outbreak talking with Watts leaders. Watts leaders were on the phone talking with Cleveland leaders.

(Watts has become a symbolic word. Los Angeles County has at least half a dozen areas where Negroes are beset by bad housing, lack of jobs, and other acute reminders of discrimination.)

Says a county commission staff man, himself a Negro, relative to Watts, the focal point of Negro community concern:

"I was in the area, talking with people about Cleveland. There's nothing you can see here because you can't see the people who start that sort of thing. If you have a couple of cons or men who like to kill, it'll start.

"The opinion here is that after the National Guard is out of Cleveland, it's going to be possible to tell the good ones from the bad ones. White men only see black men—they can't tell the difference.

No pattern seen

In San Diego, Rosemary Layng of Citizens Interracial Committee offers a perceptive, thoughtful comment:

"I'm not quite sure," Mrs. Layng begins, "just what is happening in Cleveland. It doesn't appear, from the papers, as though the trouble follows the pattern of ghetto community support.

"Our office feels, though, that it may point to what might happen here—it might represent the next phase in the Negro struggle."

Mrs. Layng means, she indicates, that it may be left to small groups to start trouble without there being any community involvement—to begin with.

This summer in San Diego, she points out, the police say they feel as though they are sitting on a powder keg. There are incidents. And the militants, who last summer moved in to apply the brakes and tried to help, aren't acting.

It's as though the militants are saying, observes Mrs. Layng, that they're no longer going to use their influence to prevent disorder. Last summer, when they tried, the police usually arrested them too. They're disillusioned.

"I wonder," says Mrs. Layng, "if this isn't the Cleveland situation."

Threatens to pull out

Up in Oakland, one of the West's most troubled centers so far, Curtis Lee Baker, the man who says "I'm supposed to be the worst cat in Oakland," doesn't hesitate a second when asked if trouble's brewing. He says, "Yeah!"

Mr. Baker, who runs his own welfare agency called West End Help Center, has threatened to "pull out of civil rights." He needs money. Merchants in the explosive Oakland area have planned a benefit dinner for him Aug. 10. If he doesn't get help, Mr. Baker says he'll tell the kids who follow him—there's no question about his having a big following—and they'll decide what to do. They've been, he says, real patient. "Let's face it," says Mr. Baker, "there is going to be a revolution. But that doesn't have to mean killing."

In Watts, the president of the Watts branch of ACLU Ed Warren, says: "Nobody knows. You can't find out by a survey. The conditions that cause trouble are present in every Negro community in America. You can't put the blame on outside forces.

"Basically, Watts hasn't changed since 1965. There have been promises but everything is the same.

The tragedy is that the only thing that's happening is preparation for trouble. The police are getting ready. But nothing to solve problems is happening."

Funding difficulties

A non-Negro minister in another part of the city, who heads a Los Angeles City Goals Project on ghetto problems, says he can't quite accept Mr. Warren's appraisal.

"I think the lid would have blown off here long since," he comments, "if there hadn't been preparations for dealing with riots. I know it's no answer, but it's awfully important."

Signs of militancy raise racial tension in Chicago

By Lucia Mouat
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago

The predictions were that this would be a hot summer racially for Chicago.

The city had been quiet since the riots which followed the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. But as Cleveland flared up with racial trouble in the form of guerrilla warfare this week, Chicagoans and big-city residents elsewhere grew more tense.

Talk of black-nationalist planning increased, but in neither of the two racial disturbances which cropped up in Chicago that same week did there appear to be a connection.

The first incident involved an estimated 100 Negro youths, who entered an A&P market on Chicago's Near North Side before closing time and began looting store shelves. A cash register which the youths seized was dropped when police arrived.

Stores picketed

The store was one of several in the A&P chain, which recently had been picketed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket. This group attempts to withhold Negro buying power in an effort to press businesses into hiring more Negroes and supporting Negro products.

According to an Operation Breadbasket spokesman, the A&P chain had been particularly delinquent in fulfilling a written promise made to Breadbasket officials in May, 1967, that Negroes would be hired for 770 new jobs within six months. So far a mere 83 have been hired by the chain in Chicago. But the spokesman stressed that picketing, not looting, was all that Breadbasket condoned.

Still the chain's lack of cooperation lingered as a reason for the melee.

Meeting spotlighted

The other disturbance broke out in Maywood, when 300 youths, led by the youth-council president of Maywood's chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, tried to enter a regular meeting of the village board to present a list of grievances.

Observers of the civil-rights scene noted that, directly or not, two of the more nonmilitant civil-rights organizations were involved.

"Civil-rights organizations have been a symbol-phrase implying safety to white people," commented Jack Meltzer director of the Center for Urban Studies at the University of Chicago. "This is no longer the way we can look at it because of the circumstances they [the civil-rights organizations] face and how they are forced to respond.

"It's clear that a demand for much more militant action is being required all the time. The issue of civil rights as such is just not the same as it was a few years ago.

Militant attitude noted

Although observers noted no direct connection between the Chicago and Cleveland disturbances, they saw Chicago in its own way as signaling a rise in more militant action.

"I think we can look forward to increased guerrilla activity of the terror variety," commented one long-time observer of the scene, a white social worker.

"It doesn't take many people, but what these things tend to do is stimulate each other. Incidents are almost as random as those instigated by individual criminals, though it may happen to be that three or four people are involved.

"At one time I would have said only the worst cities—in terms of police-community-government relations—could blow, but now I'm convinced that almost any city can blow. It can be random. The tinder is there. It's just a matter of what sparks it," the social worker said.

Judge bill advances

By the Associated Press

Washington

The House has voted to raise the annual salaries of District of Columbia judges by $4,000. On a roll-call vote of 338 to 44, members sent to the Senate a bill that would boost the top pay from $25,000 to $29,000.

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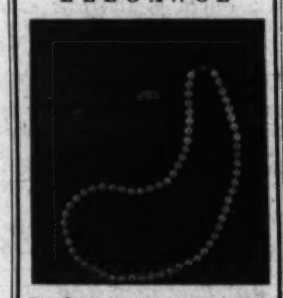

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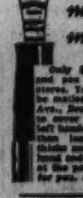

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Nigeria and Biafra

Relief-fund appeals intensify

By David Winder
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

London

Across the world, relief organizations are responding to a desperately urgent need: To rush in millions of tons of supplies to save from starvation entire families and villages in both Nigeria and Biafra.

"The response is encouraging but not enough to keep up with the demand," said one relief worker.

An official from another relief organization explained just how imperative the need is.

"At present human suffering in Nigeria is escalating far faster than it is in Vietnam. You see, if you are short of food today you are very short of food tomorrow and then you've got no food at all the day after. This is the horrifying thing."

More than 200 tons of supplies are needed every day. Barely 40 tons get get through in a week.

Stockpile wanted

What the relief organizations want is such a response from the public that when political and logistical obstacles are cleared there will be a vast stockpile of food ready to flood the war-scarred areas.

Responses and opportunities in this critical situation include:

● The World Council of Churches meeting in Uppsala, Sweden, appealed for a further $3 million for Nigerian-Biafran relief work. This is in addition to $700,000 in financial contributions and $3 million in material aid already offered.

Christian Aid, the British arm of the division of interchurch aid of the World Council of Churches, has raised £33,000 ($79,200) for the purchase of drugs and high-protein food and to pay delivery costs.

Hazardous airlift

British contributors may contact Christian Aid, 10 Eaton Gate, London S.W.1. Those in the United States may send contributions to Church World Services, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, which will forward them to Christian Aid if necessary.

● The International Red Cross, responsible for coordinating all major relief organization consignments from its headquarters on Fernando Poo Island, is maintaining a hazardous night airlift into Biafra.

The British Red Cross has thus far made £10,000 ($24,000) each available to both Biafra and Nigeria and within a week has raised £3,000 from the British public. Its address: British Red Cross, 14 Grosvenor Crescent, London S.W.1. In the United States, gifts can be sent to: the American Red Cross, Washington, D.C. 20006.

● The Save the Children Fund has thus far: distributed 11½ tons of special high-protein foods and drugs to the Nigerian side and a slightly smaller consignment to the Biafran side. A further 400 tons of children's food is expected to arrive in Lagos later this month, while an additional 100-ton consignment is awaiting shipment from Britain.

The fund is also maintaining three medical and nursing teams in war zones at a cost of £25,000 for six months.

A new appeal for £50,000 has just been launched by the fund. The response has included £8,000 and £2,000 respectively from associate organizations in Sweden and Denmark.

Britain: the Save the Children Fund, 29 Queen Anne's Gate, London S.W. 1.

North America: Canadian Save the Children Fund, Hayter Street, Toronto, Canada.

● Caritas, worldwide Roman Catholic charitable organization to which Pope Paul subscribes, has chalked up 29 clandestine mercy flights into Biafra. It was the first organization to open such a corridor. Because of the effectiveness of its operations Caritas has received considerable support from numerous nonchurch charities, among them Oxfam and the War on Want.

Impartial contribution

British: the English Catholic Women's League Relief and Refugee Committee, 21C Ashley Place, London S.W.1.

United States: Catholic Relief Services USCC, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001.

● Oxford Committee on Famine Relief (Oxfam), Britain's largest overseas charity, is largely responsible for arousing the British public to the desperate situation in Biafra where it estimates 4 million refugees face starvation. It has been one of the largest contributors to famine relief, providing more than £300,000 to both sides, £50,000 more than the total British Government contribution.

Britain: Oxfam, Oxford, England.

North America: Oxfam of Canada, 97 Eglinton Avenue East, Toronto 12, Canada.

Graphic photographs

The misery of forlorn, emaciated children as depicted in both appeals for help and in graphic press photographs is making a profound impression on the British public.

"We had an astounding response. It quite took our breath away" was how an official of the popular tabloid Daily Sketch described the public reaction to an appeal launched by the paper.

More than £11,000 was raised in the first week, much of it humble contributions of half a crown (30 cents) and less, while the number of anxious letters received daily was put at 4,000.

Relief organizations are hoping that such deep concern over the refugee problem will be translated into a generous outpouring of funds.

Keystone

Refugees need help

An international campaign is under way to provide relief for millions of starving refugees in Nigeria and Biafra. Here young children stand or sit outside Enugu Civilian hospital where more than 1,000 women and children are suffering from malnutrition.

Summer fun starts when you dial SEED

By Helen Joanne Ridley
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Toronto

You are 15 years old, too young to get a job, too old for day camp. The first week that school was out you knew exactly what you were going to do—"junk around" you called it. Now it is midsummer and "junking around" has lost its appeal. You are fed up with listening to records, watching TV, hanging around the swimming pool, and just plain loafing. What do you do now?

If you live in Toronto, Canada, you pick up the telephone and dial 362-4931. This is the magic number that connects you with SEED, Toronto's answer for the restless teen-ager.

SEED—Summer Experience, Exploration, and Discovery—is sponsored by the Toronto Board of Education and endorsed by a group of teens and adult volunteers who are involved in what promises to be an exciting and rewarding experience.

♦ ♦ ♦

SEED operates like this. When a teen-ager calls, he is asked to state his area of interest. This could be anything from astronomy to politics, drama or geology. Perhaps the young person has no special interest, he just wants to talk to somebody.

When an adult volunteer calls, he is asked the same question. Volunteers and teenagers are then matched according to interests, and small groups are formed.

What happens next is left in the hands of the group leader or "resource person," as the adult is called. Taking his cues from the young people, the leader arranges a meeting place which could be his home, a park, a museum, an art gallery, or a library, any place that the group decides upon. Discussion is encouraged and the leader must be prepared to listen as well as to talk, to be led as well as to lead.

As an adult volunteer, I rang the magic number and was invited to join other volunteers for refreshments and a free discussion of the aims of the project. In my group there was an actor, an astronomer, a social worker, a politician, a student editor of an underground newspaper, a film producer, three "hippies" who dropped in offering to help, an anthropologist, and a professor of adult education who was doing research in the use of leisure time.

♦ ♦ ♦

The actor was involved with TV commercials and shows, and thought he could arrange to take a group to a TV studio.

The film producer envisioned teaching young people to use a projector, and giving them access to a film library.

The social worker planned studies of current social problems and visits to sections of the city where the effects of these problems could be seen.

The astronomer looked forward to "stargazing" with his group.

One volunteer had already begun. Her group met in her garden and discussed politics. They planned a visit to city hall to observe local politicians at work, plus informal seminars dealing with specific issues. Another volunteer had a group interested in Oriental philosophy. He took them to the Royal Ontario Museum to view Oriental artifacts, and was impressed by the interest and enthusiasm displayed by the young people.

Project SEED is intended to be flexible, open-ended, and very much youth-directed. The youngsters are encouraged to switch groups as their interests change. The hours are flexible and are worked out to suit the group.

It is too early yet to predict how SEED will develop. Its inherent possibilities challenge the imagination. For the adults who are working with it, it represents our effort to bridge the "generation gap." For the young people, 50 years from now, it could be "the summer I remember best."

SEED
PHONE 362 4931

Rah for state!

By a staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

In 1949, 1950, and 1951, private institutions of higher learning enrolled as many students as public colleges and universities. But this is no longer the case. In 1961, the public institutions of higher learning had 60 percent, or three-fifths of all the students.

This year, enrollment in public institutions has shown a steady increase, up to 67 percent of all students. Statisticians predict that no more than three out of every 10 students in 1970 will be enrolled in private colleges or universities if the present trend continues.

Impact of 'youth explosion'

By Louis Garinger
Religious affairs editor of The Christian Science Monitor

Uppsala, Sweden

The youth explosion and what it portends was given serious attention by a number of speakers at the recent Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches here.

"On the campuses a generation erupted, an important piece of society let fly. . . . It was a wild shout, a rough rejection of education-in-general, of everything taken for granted by all the elements now molding people, coercing society, determining the future."

Thus did the Rev. Dr. Theodore a Gill, of the United States, director of the council's Joint Study Commission on Education, characterize this youth explosion.

He went on: "The real adversary was not this or that administrator or this or that teacher or this or that course. The real adversaries were that rigid vice-chancellor, the status quo; those sternly directive professors, government and industry; that intolerable bore, academic tradition; those long courses in accommodation."

The point to be grasped, he declared, "is that some of the brightest and best of our youth flame now in revolutionary dissatisfaction with the goals they see accepted by those who teach them, affect them, direct them. They distrust the values commonly invoked. They defy the system which ever more efficiently instructs the new generation in means that they see leading straight to inhuman ends: unendurable inequities among men, intolerable narrowing of human possibilities, blasphemous vulgarizations of spirit."

Need for containment

Where, he asked in substance, is all this leading? "Somehow," he argued, "this uncomfortable moral passion, this cyclonic honesty, will probably be contained this time. But it will certainly not be contained finally. Because such premature resolutions of radically *necessary* divisions are exactly the phony 'reconciliations' our sons and daughters are against." He suggested that rearguard battles to maintain the status quo are ultimately doomed to failure.

Dr. Gill said that the protest is against "a spiritually, morally, humanly underdeveloped world, just in those countries we are most used to thinking of as developed."

Prof. André Pierre Dumas, who teaches ethics and philosophy at the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris, explained the youth explosion in these terms: "One senses in the protest of the young against the world of production . . . a thirst for self-determined needs, more fundamentally human than the quantitative use of things: not a need for cars and television, but the need to express oneself, to know, to participate, to refuse, to decide; a need for speaking and acting, not only digesting and executing."

Noting that the young "reject a future reduced to the perpetuation of an aimless machinery," he quoted some of the slogans which flourished last May on the walls of the University of Paris.

For example: "We reject a world where the certainty not to die of hunger is exchanged against the risk to die of boredom." Or: "The bourgeois revolution was juridical. The proletarian revolution was economic. Ours will be social and cultural, so that man may become himself."

'Youth expects answers'

The Rev. Dr. Willem A. Visser 't Hooft of the Netherlands, the council's former general secretary, also felt compelled to explore this issue. "However vague the aspirations of this new generation may be," he said, "whatever excessive, self-defeating or intolerable forms their protest may sometimes assume, the questions they raise are real questions. Youth rightly expects answers. . . .

"Behind it all there lies the issue of the total orientation of our civilization. Youth performs its historical mission of confronting us brutally with the question of the meaning of our common life. Can man live meaningfully in a great society . . . in which the astounding possibilities of technology are not brought under the control of a clear common purpose, a purpose which has to do with man as a person rather than man as a producer and consumer?"

Dr. Visser't Hooft then asserted: "When young people all over the world ask searching questions about the ultimate meaning of life—the churches should prick up their ears. . . . If we have anything to say about the orientation of our life together, about the calling of men, about a truly responsible society, about the true priorities, this is the time to say it and to say it in such a clear, simple, and direct way that youth also may prick up their ears."

Prof. André Philip, director of the Development Center, Organization for Economic Cooperation, in Paris, expressed the opinion that students "are fighting not for another type of state, necessarily, but for another type of thinking."

The Rev. Dr. Soritua A. E. Nababan, general secretary of the National Council of Churches in Indonesia, saw the younger generation "thirsty for trustworthy leaders who won't laugh at them and abuse them, but who trust them as signs of renewal, signs of hope."

Major reappraisal urged

"Youth in God's World," a significant document prepared by the Youth Department of the World Council, called for a major reappraisal of the churches' attitudes toward youth.

"The greatest mistake with regard to young people," it suggested "is to demand that they solve their personal problems independently of the great problems of our time." It noted, moreover, that "a people which works with determination toward a new future has no youth problems."

Of the adult generation the report said: "Assuming a moral authority which is not based on performance and results, endangers the partnership between young and old in our societies. Such partnership can only come about when the older generation is willing to acknowledge its own limitations and invite younger people to play their role *now*. . . ."

In warning against thoughtlessly idolizing youth, the report stated, "It is not sentimentality that is asked . . . but genuine confidence that a new generation can and will contribute to the welfare of the community."

Of youthful protests, it said that these "have to be understood in terms of the society to which youth wants to relate but cannot. Romantic applause for protest is as harmful as authoritarian refusal to identify its causes."

World of warning noted

The paper then turned to the role of the churches and spoke a word of warning. "Harm," it said, "will be done if the churches [continue to] judge a younger generation without, at the same time, blaming the adults for creating the environment in which the young live. Harm will be done if the churches pronounce moral absolutes on private matters while they are silent on public matters like war and exploitation.

"Harm will be done if churches require from the young what the adults do not practice. . . . Harm will be done if the churches speak to a younger generation without hearing and knowing the words of their own young people."

"Most older members of the church will," the statement continued, "by the nature of their experience, have more allegiance to the past, while most young people, by the nature of their hope, are more drawn to the future. But the generations meet *now*, and together they are called to be the people of God."

It affirmed that "the church has a clear mandate" to work "consciously at bringing together the generations." But it cautioned, "Only if youth participants are *really* participants can they be expected to take the adults seriously.

"The rapid social change in which both adults and adolescents are caught up, produces a tension between the generations which cannot be ignored. Only a real effort at understanding each other will prevent the tensions from becoming a conflict. Sharp self-examination of adults in this matter is at least as important as education of young people."

Finally, the document maintained: "A youth ministry should . . . never become a nervous effort to keep young people in or win them for the church. A style of life which is inspired by the Gospel and a genuine care for a new generation is all that is required. The message of Good News is strong enough to excite, engage, and commit those of all ages."

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Young architecture students build a new Yugoslavia

By Cynthia Parsons
Education editor of The Christian Science Monitor

Belgrade

EDUCATION

There are thousands and thousands of university students living in Belgrade. And there are hundreds and hundreds of new buildings in and around this capital of Yugoslavia; in fact, throughout the country. The combination of a young-in-age population with the need for a completely rebuilt city since the end of World War II means that the faculty of architecture at the University of Belgrade is a popular and exciting place to study.

Many members of the faculty are practicing architects, and even the undergraduate students are allowed to enter their designs in competitions for public buildings.

♪ ♪ ♪

Across the river from old Belgrade, on what was formerly a swamp, is New Belgrade, a completely new city still a-building. One of the most exciting new structures is the Modern Art Museum.

From some external positions, it looks ugly and awkward, but once inside the intent of the architect becomes clear. Natural light pours in on the exhibitions from myriad sources, so cleverly is the building and hanging space designed.

For the students of architecture at the university across the river it is a constant reminder of what imagination can create.

I talked with three such students. All are graduating this year and about to embark on their required two years of work for the national government as "on location" building supervisors.

Tatjana Stevanovich (known as Tana to her friends) is a tall, attractive blonde, blue-eyed student who bubbles over with enthusiasm for architecture and travel. Tatjana has traveled to several parts of Europe, and has been active in helping to organize trips out of the country—at special student group rates—for those interested not only in studying architecture but in having a good time.

These trips are all student-sponsored and organized, and Tatjana explained, "We invite a professor to come along, but he pays his own way just like the rest of us. It's a good chance for him just as it is for us."

Tatajana is interested in entering competitions for designs of public buildings, and is presently working with some older friends on the design of a motel. For fun, she and a group of architects are hoping to find an abandoned river mill and either restore it or modernize it.

♪ ♪ ♪

Milosh Jovanovich is also a fourth-year architecture student. "It is my fifth year, though," he explained. "I failed once and had to take a year over."

Milosh is also especially interested in working on public buildings and in urban planning. It was he who suggested that I visit the Modern Art Museum inside and out to get the full feeling. He also suggested that I view a round apartment house in the southern area of Belgrade. I could not tell from his remarks if he approved or not, but I found the building most interesting. It is round but with jutting windows on alternate floors to give greater window space.

The third student, Kronja T. Radovan, said that he wanted most of all to design small private homes. Kronja also explained how it is possible, after serving the state for the required two years, for a group of engineers and architects to get together and form a private firm. This, he feels, would appeal to him the most.

All three students explained that there was great division of opinion about architecture on the part of the faculty, and that this made for very interesting discussions among the students.

♪ ♪ ♪

The first two years of study in architecture are fairly routine. Painting, drafting, the history of architecture and other standard courses are taught by members of the faculty — many of whom are practicing architects.

One of the toughest courses, Milosh explained, is that taught by the dean—descriptive geometry. In the third and fourth years, the students may specialize and begin working on projects which they choose in collaboration with a professor. And the final three months of the fourth year are given over entirely to completing a special project.

At the end of four years, each student is able and qualified both to draw plans for buildings and to supervise the actual construction. During one vacation period each one must observe actual construction work, completing a diary of what happens each day. All three students agreed that this period of field work was most useful.

Tatjana concluded the interview: "I wouldn't think of being in any other profession. This one offers such wonderful opportunities."

By Nan Farmer

Kronja, Tana and Milosh

Tana and the two boys flanking her are all students of architecture at the University of Belgrade. All three are fluent in English, and spoke frankly with the interviewer about their desire to improve the architectural look in Yugoslavia.

Girls' high school historian looks back on Cicero, Cyrano, and Ringo

The following excerpt has been taken from a speech delivered by Jacqueline Adams, historian at Girls Latin School, a six-year high school for honor students in Boston, Mass.

It was a dark day, a very dark day in September, 1964, when several hundred of us marched up to the mammoth yellow building—eager, yet wishing to be home again.

We were foursies, with three years to go before high school graduation. We more intelligent types tackled French or German. Instead of being mere puellae, we became jeunes filles and fräuleins.

In our modern language frenzy, we didn't forget our own Latin; Caesar made sure of that. As we trudged over his many roads and bridges, we began to feel quite sympathetic toward the poor Helvetians and we secretly yearned for Ariovistis' victory. Despite all of Caesar's writings, however, it took ancient history to teach us what the Romans were really like.

English became that absent course in geography for we sailed the seven seas with Captain Ahab and the Pequod crew in search of the great white whale; we combed the Mediterranean with Ulysses trying to get home to Ithaca; and we tramped through the highlands of Scotland to find the Lady of the Lake.

This was the year of Ringo's marriage (a tearful event for some). It was a time for Herman's Hermits, Freddie and the Dreamers, Wayne Fontana and the Mindbenders, the Supremes, and of course, Mitch Miller.

As we went off into the summer sunset, booklists in hand, we were happy, youthful, carefree—but in Sept., we saw that our carefree days at Girls Latin School (GLS) were over.

As wise fools — otherwise known as sophomores or threesies — we settled down to a steady grind of six tests every Friday.

We were there — in the Forum — listening to Cicero's eloquent denunciation of Cataline. Verily, hatred oozed from our pores as we learned how treacherous a man Cataline was. Just like a modern spy, Cicero, against overwhelming odds, and many personal dangers, intercepted ambassadors, steamed open letters, and de-coded messages — a regular James Bond! We also realized how truly subtle a poet Ovid was as we tried to scan his verses.

We went through a variety of moods in English. We felt youthful and ill-used when we played with David Copperfield and Tommy Traddles, bewildered and lost at Walden Pond, miserly when confronted with Silas Marner, gallant and chivalrous in the company of Ivanhoe and Sydney Carton, and lovelorn with Romeo, Juliet, and Cyrano.

The following year it was PSAT, SAT, AT, NMSQT—sound familiar? Lost and bewildered in a maze of American history co-ops, miniskirts, and Manter-Hall books, we wandered through the corridors—panting, glassy-eyed, half-asleep.

And who had more right—after all, we were mere juniors—poor, defenseless children, upon whom the untold terrors of the CEEB (College Entrance Examination Board) were hurled! But bravely we walked, crawled, groveled through the ordeal and most of us lived to fight another year.

After the seniors had been settled, we visited for the first time our formidable guidance counsellor. Those of us who had no idea of where we wanted to go or what we wanted to do, were at an even greater loss after our conference with Miss G. Our junior year discovered American history and all of its untold delights, such as term papers, and bimonthly co-ops, and J. Edgar Hoover's completely unbiased views on Communism.

We were guided on a tour of a haunted house by Cicero and we took a quick spin around the Mediterranean with Vergil and his literary child, plus Aeneas. We felt pity for Hester Prynne, Arthur Dimmesdale, faltering Brutus, and poor, feeble Clifford and Hepzibah Pyncheon. By this time French and German had become comfortable old shoes for us, but trigonometry was a bitter pill and even now only a few of us have managed to swallow it.

September, 1967: was it the beginning of the end or the end of the beginning? No one knew for sure, but one thing was certain — we were on top. Senior class officers were our class officers; presidents of the clubs were girls in our homerooms; editors of the school magazine were members of our class; we took the Betty Crocker Homemaker of the Future Test; we were filling out college applications; we were ever at the guidance counsellor's door; everything reflected us, the illustrious class of '68.

As we began our senior year, we felt the great pride of having lasted most of the way, but we still had a few more steps to take.

Since we were seniors, Latin became optional and we were allowed to take two elected subjects. Instead of worrying about tomorrow's sight translation, we pondered over complex problems in physics, biology, modern European history, and fourth year French or German. We had our first encounter with the mole, and we discovered that water was not mere water but an amphiprotic substance. Math proved to be challenging whether it was one of the various forms of advanced math or calculus. But we had the most fun of all in English.

There we grew melancholy with Hamlet, and conscience-stricken with Lady Macbeth. Eagerly, though, we made our pilgrimage to Canterbury, led by Geoffrey Chaucer.

But most important of all, 1967-68 was special because it was the year that we spread out our fingers to grasp a part of the world. Should we stop the bombing in Vietnam? Will Eugene McCarthy be our next president? Is Dick Gregory's fast in vain? What will be the effect on us of Britain's new minipound? All of these and other pressing questions of the day became our problems, not merely words in a newspaper.

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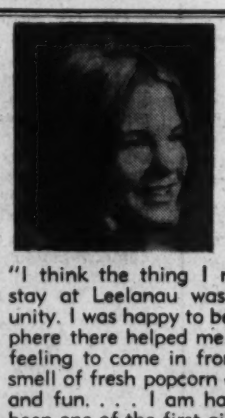

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♪ ♪ ♪

Those were the days of horse carriages, carts drawn by water buffalos and donkeys which could carry unbelievable loads. Woe to the owner of one who happened to maltreat his animal in the presence of my aunt. Once we came upon a man goading his horse to move faster even though the animal was carrying what seemed to my aunt a heavy load.

"Have you no fear of Allah to treat your horse in this fashion? The poor animal can hardly walk," she chided him.

"Nonsense," the man retorted, "he is simply lazy. The baskets are not filled with stones, hanim, they are light, even I could carry them on my back without much effort."

"Why don't you, then, and let the animal carry that pointed stick back of you!"

"Hanim, what is it to you anyhow? It is my horse not yours." The man was irritated.

"The more reason you should treat him better. All creatures are created by Allah and to maltreat one is to go against His compassion for all living things. What is more, without the horse how would you earn your living?" With that, Aunt Kerime marched off and we children ran after her while the man kept muttering to himself; but we noticed that he did not use his stick again.

♪ ♪ ♪

"Why this concern over animals?" a friend asked her once.

"And why not? Someone has to look after them. They have no tongue to voice their grievances and often no power to change their lot for the better."

One day a friend came to visit my aunt with a problem. She had bought a dog for her children but he turned out to be a bad tempered animal and everyone was afraid of him.

"You have a way with dogs, maybe you could do something," the friend said.

"I have no special way," my aunt laughed. "I try to be kind and understand them and treat them well. The essential is to make friends with your pets."

In the end it was decided that Aunt Kerime would take the dog for a while.

It was a beautiful English setter, but when he was brought on a leash one could see immediately that he had no intention of making friends with anyone. His tail drooped, his eyes darted here and there suspiciously and when Aunt Kerime tried to pat him he bared his teeth. This was a challenge to her, as most animals took to her at once.

♪ ♪ ♪

When the friend left, Aunt Kerime told everyone, and especially us children, to let the dog alone. We were spending the summer at grandfather's house. I often wondered how all of us, relatives, old retainers and animals, found place in the konak with room to spare.

Aunt Kerime prepared a bed for the setter in her own sitting room. She fed him and gave him some fresh water and said gently, "This is your bed and you will stay with me for a while. Don't be scared, no one will hurt you."

As if the animal could understand! But somehow the dog did, and his eyes were less fearful.

♪ ♪ ♪

In the following days my aunt and the setter studied one another, each sizing up the other. My aunt always spoke gently but did not come close to the dog, for she noticed that a sudden move or an outstretched hand seemed to put him on his guard and bring a snarl to his lips. Infinite patience was needed.

One day, as she was sewing by the window and we children playing near by, we saw the setter get up from his bed, walk over to my aunt and gently lick her hand. Just as gently she patted his head, saying, "We are friends now, aren't we?" They had mysteriously established a bond of understanding and the setter's need for love had finally won out.

From that day the dog was no more a problem. It was as if another one had come, replacing the suspicious setter that had been brought to us on a leash. The transformation was astonishing to all, but it did not seem to surprise Aunt Kerime.

♪ ♪ ♪

Word was sent to the friend to come and fetch her dog, and when she arrived she exclaimed, "Surely, this is not the same dog! How did you accomplish this miracle?"

"We just understood one another, didn't we?" Aunt replied, turning towards the dog, who wagged his tail. "Tell me, did you buy him as a puppy?"

"No, he was about two years old. His first owner wanted to get rid of him because he claimed he was vicious and had bitten his children. I have a suspicion that he beat him quite often to discipline him."

"That explains it," my aunt said. "I thought as much. This was a badly frightened animal and turned ugly in self-defense. There are really no vicious dogs, only bad masters. One should never strike a dog. Dogs, you know, are eager to please their masters, their devotion is astonishing. I sometimes wonder if we humans deserve all the love lavished on us. Praise, and a few stern words when they disobey, that is my method. As the French say, "One cannot catch flies with vinegar." And one cannot win a dog with a stick. Is it not so with humans? A kind word, a helping hand, and you have made a friend and uplifted your own heart as well.

SELMA EKREM

Counterpoint

This is a time for seeing. In the grove
the caverned shadows hold a hive of light;
the swords of grass stand separate; bushes curve
like waterfalls; the farthest trees are near —
and Mozart's music moves among the leaves
to be perceived now through another sense:
a pure translation to the realm of sight,
all clarity, all grace, all eloquence.
Seeing, I hear, I hear.

There will be time for listening. Some night —
the house drawn in, snow on the windowsill,
shadow and lamplight together woven
into a silent fugue, and the room filling
with music whose profound felicity,
though it knows winter, still can trace the flight
of every breeze that silvers bush and tree —
that music and this day will merge, until,
hearing, I see, I see.

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MM-48

Both pictures by courtesy of Sotheby & Co., London

BRONZE PLAQUE: *Benin, Nigeria*

Ever since the discovery in 1897 of a highly developed art in bronze casting in Benin, Nigeria, the importance of these bronzes has been increasingly recognized. Some 2,000 examples were brought to Europe at that time, and they undoubtedly helped to spark the interest in primitive art which has so deeply affected European art in this century. But though they recognized the exceptional merit of these bronzes, the early discoverers could hardly have foreseen the value which would one day be placed on them. At a recent auction sale in London the Benin bronze plaque seen above realized £11,000 ($26,400), a record for any African work of art.

At first it was thought that the Portuguese who reached Benin in 1485 must have taught the Benis the art. But it is now recognized that the discovery was made much earlier. The unearthing in 1938 of a cache of splendid sculptures in the Nigerian town of Ife, some 110 miles to the northwest of Benin, supports the strong local tradition that it was from Ife, about the year 1280, that the citizens of Benin learned the art. Between that date and the arrival of the Portuguese some two hundred years later, the Kingdom of Benin flourished and developed its own style of bronze casting.

The works were produced by the *cire perdue* (lost wax) method still used in Benin. A model was made in wax, usually over a core of mud which was then covered with several layers of mud. As sooon as the earth had dried, the wax was melted out and replaced by molten metal. Finally the baked mud was broken away to expose the bronze. Only one cast could be taken from such a mold, so each work was unique.

The idea of a plaque is said to have originated with the Portuguese. In the 17th century the pillars in the royal palaces were sheathed with these plaques which recorded the deeds of past great kings and their warriors. Benin art was a court art, centered round the king, ritual, commemorative, and ceremonial. It was not a people's art.

The plaque above shows the central figure of a warrior attended by two soldiers. Two European figures (probably Portuguese) appear in the upper corners.

The sensitively cast male head, shown below, is an early Benin bronze belt mask. The pupils of the downcast eyes, and the two vertical ridges on the forehead, were originally inlaid.

MARJORIE BRUCE-MILNE

BELT MASK: *Early Benin bronze*

Voluntary welfare workers

January of 1839 was cold and snowy—the type of weather which forcibly reminded those of the early Victorians who were well-to-do that they had a duty to perform towards their less fortunate neighbours. They may not have been so highly trained as officials of a welfare state, but they were less indifferent, more thoughtful, more creative, and they asked for no payment or praise as they responded to the demands of human sympathy.

"Tuesday, 22nd Jan. Coming down St. Saviour's Hill we met Mr. McNeill—his head is full at present of a hobby of his own creating, viz. soup boilers for providing the poor people with good soup twice a week. He is very anxious for us to try and raise a few subscriptions—10/—is quite sufficient to provide 80 pints of soup twice a week, and he wants us to try and manage a boiler or two—I am sure we shall be able to manage it." . . .

In 1839 self-help was still a virtue; and as lending libraries had not yet tapped the rates or sprouted in chemists' shops, the Halls determined to set up a Book Society of their own for the benefit of St. Helier. They soon found eager supporters. The details of the scheme are obscure, but the method was simple; their practice was to consult the wishes of their friends and then order a box of books—from whence does not appear—which they clothed tidily in paper covers and distributed round. It meant a good deal of voluntary work, and complaints which were not unknown proved discouraging at least to some members of the family.

"2nd. Feb. All this evening we have been occupied in covering and pasting and writing etc., and Mr. Bissell came in and helped us—and went away again before we had done—and we were kept up till 11 o'clock. Papa did nothing but fuss and grumble and tell us he was sure all along it would be so."—From "Two Victorian Girls," by O. A. Sherrard. Copyright, 1966, by O. A. Sherrard. Frederick Muller Limited, London.

It's a deception!

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

How often world conditions appear dreary, and our health, our business, and our personal relationships seem in need of improvement!

But a person never need become discouraged, because, according to Christian Science, all that denies the oneness and allness of God, good, is a deception. Deity is the cause and substance of all that really exists, and the understanding of this great fact must predominate in individual human consciousness. Then one not only will not be deceived by discords but will find them disappearing from his experience.

♪ ♪ ♪

Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered and founded Christian Science, makes many helpful statements elucidating the allness of God. She explains that human ills are healed, not ignored, as one gains an understanding of Him as infinite Spirit and Mind, the Principle of man and the universe. On page 207 of "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures," Mrs. Eddy states: "There is but one primal cause. Therefore there can be no effect from any other cause, and there can be no reality in aught which does not proceed from this great and only cause. Sin, sickness, disease, and death belong not to the Science of being." And earlier on the same page she declares, "We must learn that evil is the awful deception and unreality of existence." One cannot be deceived by a counterfeit when he has an intimate knowledge of the real article.

Being thoroughly familiar with divine reality, Christ Jesus was never deceived by evil. He could not be fooled even by the mortal appearance of death. He was able to raise Lazarus with the command, "Lazarus, come forth" (John 11:43). The Christ, the healing Truth, which Jesus expressed, destroyed the illusion of death. The Master divested death and other evils of all power by acknowledging divine Spirit as the Father and man as Spirit's creation. Jesus abode in the conviction that God's law holds man eternally perfect, whole, intact.

♪ ♪ ♪

When Jesus was describing the disturbance that would come as evil gives up its claim to existence, he said (Luke 21:8), "Take heed that ye be not deceived." And his disciple John similarly counseled (I John 3:7), "Little children, let no man deceive you."

How comforting to know that the recognition of God's government of His creation, Mind's reign of universal harmony, resolves human difficulties, destroys bodily suffering, and solves relationship problems! Such deceptive conditions are forced to disappear before the fact of God's allness understood.

[Elsewhere on the page may be found translations of this article in French and German. Once a week an article on Christian Science appears in a French and a German translation.]

Es ist eine Täuschung!

[*This is a German translation of "It's a deception!" appearing on this page*]

Übersetzung des auf dieser Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
[Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint einmal wöchentlich]

Wie oft scheinen in der Welt trostlose Zustände zu herrschen und unsere Gesundheit, unsere geschäftlichen Angelegenheiten und unsere persönlichen Beziehungen verbesserungsbedürftig zu sein!

Doch niemand braucht sich entmutigen zu lassen, denn der Christlichen Wissenschaft gemäß ist alles, was die Einheit und Allheit Gottes, des Guten, leugnet, eine Täuschung. Die Gottheit ist die Ursache und Substanz alles dessen, was wirklich existiert, und das Verständnis dieser großen Tatsache muß im Bewußtsein des einzelnen vorherrschen. Dann werden wir nicht von Disharmonie getäuscht werden, sondern vielmehr feststellen, daß sie aus unserem Leben verschwindet.

♪ ♪ ♪

Mary Baker Eddy, die die Christliche Wissenschaft* entdeckte und gründete, gibt uns viele hilfreiche Erläuterungen, die die Allheit Gottes deutlich machen. Sie erklärt, daß, wenn wir ein Verständnis von Ihm als unendlichem Geist und unendlichem Gemüt, als dem Prinzip des Menschen und des Universums gewinnen, menschliche Leiden geheilt und nicht ignoriert werden. Auf Seite 207 ihres Buches „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift" erklärt Mrs. Eddy: „Es gibt nur eine Grundursache. Daher kann es keine Wirkung aus irgendeiner anderen Ursache geben, und es kann keine Wirklichkeit in irgend etwas geben, was nicht von dieser großen und einzigen Ursache herrührt. Sünde, Siechtum, Krankheit und Tod gehören nicht zur Wissenschaft des Seins." Auf derselben Seite erklärt sie vorher: „Wir müssen verstehen lernen, daß das Böse die schreckliche Täuschung und Unwirklichkeit des Daseins ist." Wenn wir eine genaue Kenntnis von dem echten Gegenstand haben, können wir nicht von einer Fälschung getäuscht werden.

♪ ♪ ♪

Da Christus Jesus mit der göttlichen Wirklichkeit gründlich vertraut war, ließ er sich niemals vom Bösen täuschen. Er konnte nicht einmal davon irregeführt werden, was den sterblichen Sinnen als Tod erschien. Er war imstande, Lazarus mit dem Befehl: „Lazarus, komm heraus!" (Johannes 11:43) von den Toten zu erwecken. Der Christus, die heilende Wahrheit, die Jesus zum Ausdruck brachte, zerstörte die Illusion des Todes. Der Meister nahm dem Tod und anderen Übeln alle Macht, indem er den göttlichen Geist als den Vater und den Menschen als die Schöpfung des Geistes anerkannte. Jesus war von der Überzeugung durchdrungen, daß Gottes Gesetz den Menschen immerwährend vollkommen, heil und unversehrt erhält.

Als Jesus den Aufruhr beschrieb, der sich einstellt, wenn das Böse seinen Daseinsanspruch aufgibt, sagte er (Lukas 21:8): „Sehet zu, lasset euch nicht verführen." Und sein Jünger Johannes gab den gleichen Rat (1. Johannes 3:7): „Kindlein, lasset euch von niemand verführen!"

Wie tröstlich ist es zu wissen, daß durch unsere Anerkennung der Tatsache, daß Gott Seine Schöpfung regiert und Gemüt in allumfassender Harmonie herrscht, menschliche Schwierigkeiten behoben, körperliche Leiden geheilt und Probleme in menschlichen Beziehungen gelöst werden. Wenn die Tatsache der Allheit Gottes verstanden wird, müssen diese uns täuschenden Zustände verschwinden.

*Christian Science: sprich: kr'istjen s'alens.

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift" von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Es kann in den Lesezimmern der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Clem W. Collins, Publishers' Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Auskunft über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache erteilt auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

C'est un leurre !

[*This is a French translation of "It's a deception!" appearing on this page*]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur cette page
[Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine]

Combien de fois la situation internationale nous apparaît navrante! Et comme il semble que nous ayons souvent besoin d'améliorer notre santé, nos affaires et nos rapports personnels avec autrui!

Mais il ne faut jamais se laisser aller au découragement, parce que, selon les enseignements de la Science Chrétienne*, tout ce qui tend à nier l'unité et la totalité de Dieu, le bien, n'est qu'un leurre. La Divinité est la cause et la substance de tout ce qui existe réellement et, dans la conscience humaine, c'est ce fait capital qui devrait avoir la prépondérance. Grâce à cela, non seulement nous ne serons pas dupes de la discorde, mais nous la verrons disparaître de notre existence.

♪ ♪ ♪

Mary Baker Eddy qui a découvert et fondé la Science Chrétienne nous a laissé de nombreux passages très utiles où elle a élucidé clairement la totalité de Dieu. Elle a expliqué qu'à mesure qu'on commence à Le comprendre en tant qu'Esprit et Entendement infinis, le Principe de l'homme et de l'univers, les maux humains sont guéris et non simplement ignorés. Elle déclare page 207 de *Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures* : « Il n'y a qu'une cause première. Donc il ne peut y avoir d'effet d'aucune autre cause, et il ne peut y avoir de réalité en quoi que ce soit qui ne procède pas de cette grande et unique cause. Le péché, la maladie, les infirmités et la mort ne sont pas du domaine de la Science de l'être. » Et plus haut à la même page, elle dit : « Il nous faut apprendre que le mal est l'affreuse tromperie et irréalité de l'existence. » Si quelqu'un a une connaissance approfondie d'une œuvre originale, il ne peut être dupe d'une contrefaçon.

♪ ♪ ♪

Comme il était tout à fait familier avec la réalité divine, Christ Jésus ne se laissa jamais leurrer par le mal. Même l'apparence physique de la mort ne parvint pas à le duper. Il fut en effet à même de ressusciter Lazare, lui ordonnant : « Lazare, sors ! » (Jean 11:43). Le Christ, la Vérité qui guérit et que Jésus manifesta, détruisit l'illusion de la mort. Le Maître destitua de toute puissance la mort et bien d'autres maux, en reconnaissant que l'Esprit divin est le Père et que l'homme est l'œuvre de l'Esprit. Jésus vivait dans la certitude que la loi divine maintient l'homme à jamais parfait, sain et intact.

Jésus dit en décrivant le tumulte qui surviendrait tandis que le mal abandonnerait toute prétention à l'existence : « Prenez garde que vous ne soyez séduits » (Luc 21:8). Et Jean, son disciple, recommanda de même : « Petits enfants, que personne ne vous séduise » (I Jean 3:7).

Quel réconfort de savoir que la reconnaissance du gouvernement que Dieu exerce sur Sa création, du règne de l'harmonie universelle de l'Entendement, permet de résoudre les difficultés humaines, d'éliminer la souffrance physique et de faire disparaître les tensions dans les rapports que l'on entretient avec autrui! Pareilles conditions illusoires doivent nécessairement disparaître quand on comprend le fait que Dieu est tout.

*Christian Science : prononcer 'kristienn 'salenss.

La traduction française du livre de texte de la Science Chrétienne, "Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures" par Mary Baker Eddy existe avec le texte anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les salles de lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commander à Clem W. Collins, Publishers' Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

By Robert C. Cowen

Herstmonseux Castle houses historic Greenwich Observatory

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Second Section
Saturday, July 27, 1968

Knowledge of the cosmos has little immediate benefit for mankind. It solves no social problems. But like music it enriches mankind. As Britain's Astronomer Royal points out: "Men need expansive thought. They need to think deeply about the universe and their place in it."

Reaching for the stars

Mt. Wilson and Palomar Observatories

Galaxies, millions of light years away, can be studied

Keystone

Sir Richard Woolley, Astronomer Royal

By Robert C. Cowen

Natural science editor of The Christian Science Monitor

Herstmonceux, England

BRITAIN'S ASTRONOMER ROYAL, SIR Richard Woolley, tracks stars from an old brick castle and thinks of Johann Sebastian Bach.

He feels an empathy with the 18th-century composer.

Like music, knowledge of the cosmos enriches mankind. And like music, it has little immediate practical value. It solves no social problems.

As Britain struggles to be solvent and as students riot, you might think astronomy to be an extravagance.

Sir Richard considers it an extravagance men could ill afford to do without. In spite of pressing problems, he says men need expansive thought. They need to think deeply about the universe and their place in it.

This, he explained during an interview, is why he feels that Britain's small but growing strength in astronomy has more than a limited academic value.

At historic Greenwich Observatory, now located on an old Sussex estate, one of the world's newest telescopes symbolizes that strength. Standing alone in a field, its gleaming dome sets off the dark turrets of Herstmonceux, one of the two all brick castles in England, where Sir Richard lives and works.

Britain has become a leader in designing and building such telescopes. British know-how has given the 98-inch Isaac Newton reflector here one of the sharpest views of the cosmos a big telescope has yet had.

Observatory site questioned

Yet, standing by the Isaac Newton dome overlooking William the Conqueror's landing, you watch clouds roll in like a new invasion fleet and wonder why anyone put an observatory here.

"Really, there's no good site for astronomy in this country," Sir Richard admitted. "It's like the eastern United States. But you can't just run off and do astronomy elsewhere. You have to have a home-based effort, too.

"We need the Isaac Newton here so our astronomers and students can be thoroughly familiar with large telescopes. Also, you don't tackle the right scientific problems unless you get into the business at home yourself. And we do make a scientific contribution from here."

Since Queen Elizabeth II inaugurated the Isaac Newton last Dec. 1, Greenwich observers have been limbering it up for its ultimate job as a national instrument that all British astronomers can use.

So far, one of the main areas of interest has been photography of strange objects known as quasars (quasi-stellar radio sources). These seem to be small, extremely powerful sources of light and radio noise. They may lie several billion light years away. No one knows what they are.

British radio astronomers have been leaders in studying quasars. The new telescope now enables British optical astronomers to study them as well.

Observations made elsewhere

While this opportunity challenges them, Greenwich observers often spend a night waiting hopefully for a break in the clouds to get a peek at the sky. So Britain is looking for new opportunities for its astronomers abroad.

Sir Richard noted that British astronomers have been observing from South Africa for a century. Now they are joining Australian scientists in a program to build a 150-inch telescope down under.

Beyond this, Sir Richard said, Britain has dropped a long-standing inhibition which held that its astronomers should work within the Commonwealth.

Now they are looking for ties with observatories in Southern Europe. Sir Richard himself has made entensive use of Egypt's 74-inch instrument.

He wants to back up these growing opportunities by developing better observing instruments for use with telescopes. These include advanced models of electronic gadgets that enhance the images produced by a telescope. This lets astronomers see fainter objects or to photograph objects more quickly. There is even some prospect that the Xerox process might be adapted for astronomy.

Photographic tools praised

At the moment, photography is still the astronomer's best tool. Nothing can beat photographic plates for quality and permanence. But they are slow. It often takes many minutes, sometimes hours, to make one observation.

If Greenwich can come up with ways to do the job faster and still keep quality, it will help British astronomers and have a new line of equipment for sale abroad.

Greenwich has stayed out of such work in the past. Now Sir Richard wants to push it hard. "It's just not efficient," he explained, "to use a big telescope with old stuff behind it." And there's the prospect that equipment that could be sold might enhance the observatory budget.

Right now, the observatory has about £600,000 ($1,440,000) a year with which to work. Something between a quarter and half of that goes for routine work in keeping track of time and publishing almanacs. Research has slim support. With Britain's austere national economy, Greenwich can't expect for much more research support in the foreseeably future.

Yet Greenwich and other British astronomical centers are providing at least a slowly growing horizon for students at a time when interest in this science seems on the rise. This is in the face of a general swing of student interest away from science.

According to an official study published last March, the proportion of new university students who opt for science dropped from 45.9 percent in 1962 to 40.6 percent last year. At the same time, interest in social sciences doubled. In spite of this, Sir Richard said there has been a steady rise in interest in astronomy for a decade.

Trend or interest shift?

But is this a significant trend? Or is it just a slight interest shift among a generally declining group with interest in science? Is there a growing student unrest, a distaste for subjects not sharply focused on the world's problems?

Sir Richard said such unrest seems absent among first-rate science students. But might it be that these particular students feel secure in their self image, in preparing for well-defined roles in society? Are they just unconcerned with the social problems that enrage others?

"No," Sir Richard replied when this question was put to him. "It's not that. They are taking part in a wide ranging intellectual adventure that is an important part of society's activities.

"There's a strong parallel with music. Those countries and those times which produce great music and great musicians are those which foster such things, that appreciate and support them.

"Great music or great science is done by men and women who have the leisure to do it or who have a sympathetic public. They can't do it in isolation from society.

"In the advanced countries, these conditions have prevailed and produced vigorous science. In backward countries, science hasn't had the opportunity to grow this way. The only basic requirement for having first-rate science is for a first-rate man to be able to choose to do science."

Appeal of the abstract

Still, isn't there widespread public disenchantment with science? Don't many think it more of a threat than an intellectual adventure?

"We just don't care," Sir Richard replied. "Many people don't like great music. Are composers going to stop composing? Are orchestras going to stop playing?

"If you feel it's more important to make two blades of corn grow where one grew before, you won't go in for abstract science. But if you think man should also think, and think deeply, about himself and the universe in every age, then you may well opt for abstract science. You'll say 'I'll do that. I'll earn my bread with science. I'll take part in that phase of man's activities.'

"Look, I'll answer the question this way. What good would it have done for Johann Sebastian Bach to stop writing fugues and try to do something about social conditions in 18th-century Leipzig?"

. . . . From the bookshelf

Shrewd, gritty old 'Uncle Ho'

Ho Chi Minh: a Political Biography, by Jean Lacouture. New York: Random House. $5.95. London: Lane.

By Henry S. Hayward

To Americans, he has been for the past six years their chief military foe. To Frenchmen, he is the frail but durable resistance leader who prevented them from reestablishing their colonial sway in Indochina after World War II. But to the people of his own country, the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, this man is their George Washington and Abraham Lincoln rolled into one.

He dresses in sandals and tunic, his chin fringed with wispy whiskers. For almost half a century he has fought as revolutionary, guerrilla, and president. He has borne many names, starting with Nguyen Sinh Cung and going through such aliases as Nguyen Tat Thanh and Ba (boy's nickname), Nguyen Ai Quoc (Nguyen the Patriot), and Vuong and Line. But since 1942, he has been known throughout Asia and the world by his present name of Ho Chi Minh (He Who Enlightens). He is dear old "Uncle Ho" to his flock, but a shrewd, gritty uncle nonetheless.

In his early twenties, this Asian peasant boy left Indochina as a crew member of the Latouche-Tréville in 1911, visited the United States in 1915, settled in Paris in 1917, and attended the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 to plead for his country's freedom. Afterward he lived in Moscow and Peking, was arrested in Hong Kong, was twice reported dead, fought the Japanese, French, South Vietnamese, and now the Americans. Many who have fought him, or seek to negotiate with him, or simply live in nations affected by him, are hungry for more information about this man. For such, Jean Lacouture's biography is worth careful examination.

This French journalist, a correspondent for the respected Le Monde, has gathered a formidable array of facts, documents, statements and anecdotes which depict Ho's career. Perhaps due to translation from the original French, the story moves very slowly at times, bogged down in detail, chronicling events that seem insignificant compared to Ho's current prominence. In certain chapters, it is only when Ho himself enters, or when his typical low-keyed or semihumorous comments are recounted, that the work comes to life. Without Ho, the book, like Vietnam itself, is not much.

One example of Ho's humor: Early in 1960, the National Assembly in Hanoi was debating the new constitution. Finally Ho said, "Well, if you want my opinion, I consider Clause A incomprehensible, Clause B inexplicable, Clause C a bit naïve." The deputies burst out laughing. "Oh, so you're laughing," said Ho. "In that case, I've won my point. One has only to achieve such an atmosphere and half one's problems are solved." Such jollity however has not been apparent among Ho's negotiators in Geneva in 1954 or Paris this summer.

It seems incredible that this man almost singlehanded has built a nation out of a backward, exploited colonial fiefdom, established a party and an ideology, ousted a formidable European empire, and fought to a virtual standstill one of the world's greatest powers. Through it all he has remained a simple man, fond of children, inspiring devotion among his colleagues, seldom raising his voice or speaking in anger.

Mr. Lacouture charts Ho's growth, first in France as he learned from French Socialists and Communists, then felt the impact of Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union in the 1920's and 1930's, and finally encountered the influence of Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communists a little later. All these new radicalisms blended neatly with Ho's own burning national pride. He managed to make both serve him to pick Vietnam out of the dust.

Reading about his total dedication to his objectives, it makes it easier to understand how the French and Americans could have so underestimated him. The man has endured a lifetime of adversity during which he outlasted his foes only by outwitting them. We see him as clever enough to exude charm, humor, and modesty at least in part as a cover for Oriental cunning and boundless determination.

The final verdict on Ho's fantastic career has not yet been written. The Paris negotiations and the American presidential election outcome may indicate whether or not he can win his case entirely. But it is a tribute to Ho's character that no one now expects him to surrender either his principles or his country.

Rates restudied

Exchange may alter stock commissions

The trend of business

BUSINESS

By Richard A. Nenneman
Business and financial editor of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

The hundred shares sold for 31¾. Deducting commissions of $34.88 and state tax of $5, I got a check for $3,135.12.

Now, what about that commission of $34.88? Was it too high for the work involved in effecting that sale?

I never thought about it, and probably you wouldn't either. The stock had been bought eight months earlier at 19. With almost $1,300 in capital gains, what did $35 matter?

But what if I had held the stock a couple years and it was only up or down a point or two? The time might come when I wanted to sell it. Then, the commission on the sale (plus the one originally paid on the purchase) might eat up a good percentage of the small profit, or even increase a small loss.

It's against this background that the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) has suggested some changes in the commission rules. It figures that change can be more rationally considered now, when the public in general have profits and are happy, than at a time of dipping stock prices when the public mood toward brokers could be vindictive.

A new commission schedule may or may not benefit the individual purchaser of a round lot (100 shares) of stock. But it is apt to benefit all those who own mutual funds, as volume purchasers may be paying a graduated commission.

Volume discounts seen

The exchange has suggested, specifically, that the new commission schedule allow member firms to give a volume discount. This would help the big buyer—the pension fund, bank trust department, or mutual fund.

It is difficult to see, in light of the comparative work involved between a big transaction and a small one, how the present rigid system of commissions can be defended.

Along with the volume discount, the NYSE has asked that all customer-directed giveups be abolished, if the Securities and Exchange Commission also takes action to abolish such giveups on other exchanges also.

The two are closely linked. The volume buyer, who gets no discount on the commission at present, is also the buyer who asks a broker to give up, or share, part of his commission with another broker.

The most usual situation is that the commission is shared with a smaller brokerage firm that has pushed the sales of a mutual fund or with a firm that has supplied an institutional investor with research.

Sample rate schedule

If the giveup should be abolished, new relationships would have to be worked out with such firms.

The problem would seem rather simple in the case of paying for research. With less commissions to pay, the mutual fund or other big investor would have extra money to pay on a straight fee basis for whatever extra service another party was providing.

The New York Stock Exchange is currently working on sample commission rate schedules, to ascertain what their effect would be on member firms.

On the basis of information available to the public, it's difficult to have an informed opinion on the subject. Figures were just released this week, for instance, that show that NYSE member firms had an increase in their net profit from security commissions from 5.7 percent to 7.2 percent of gross commissions last year.

However, some 42 member firms (of 374 in the survey) indicated they actually lost money last year on their commission business. (The previous year, 82 had lost money.)

Since commission income was up 43 percent last year, the actual dollar figure of aggregate commission profits was up about 80 percent. If this was the aggregate figure, it's clear there are some very marginal operations if 42 firms didn't even break even on commission business.

Why continue losses?

But none of these figures, as presently reported, tells the public all it needs to know. For one thing, in a firm that does a commission business, that also takes positions in the market and engages in underwritings, the assignment of overhead to commission business has to be somewhat arbitrary. The income and expense form now used by member firms could possibly be improved upon.

More important, reporting income as a percentage of gross revenue doesn't really tell much. What do brokerage firms make on their invested capital?

To answer this question, of course, would require an allocation of the capital accounts to the different parts of a firm's business.

One might wonder why the 42 member firms that reported a loss on their commission business didn't get out of it. Either the method of reporting doesn't give a completely accurate picture of their operations, or else they must have found some compensating reason for continuing to do a commission business with the public.

Thus, the public, if it's interested at all in lower commissions, can only look on from the sidelines as the NYSE and SEC try to make the commission structure equitable vis-à-vis the small buyer and the big one, while keeping in mind the change that has come over the stock market with the growth of large institutional trading.

By John Littlewood, staff photographer

Fish-eye view of Wall Street

A fresh view of New York's financial center is provided through a Nikkor fish-eye lens. A hard look at the Street is also being given by the Securities and Exchange Commission, whose inquiry into stock commission practices is discussed in the adjoining columns.

U.S. helps workers reach jobs

By Robert H. Collins
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

St. Louis

Industry and the hard-core unemployed here are beginning to get together as a result of an unusual project initiated under a federal grant.

The $1,147,500 subsidy provided for an experimental bus line to carry workers from the impoverished areas of St. Louis to the suburban Hazelwood industrial complex, site of McDonnell Douglas Corporation and the Ford Motor Company plants.

After a shaky start, the bus line apparently is beginning to succeed. In the first weeks, most of the buses traversed their routes with virtually all seats empty. Officials of the bus line said this was expected. They anticipated that success would come only in gradual stages.

Second line planned

Current figures support their prediction. The weekly total of riders of the 27 buses now exceeds 1,300, and the number continues to show a slight increase each week.

"We started slowly, understandably, but the increase has been steady, and that is healthy," said Robert Voss of Voss & Associates, the public-relations firm in charge of promoting the line.

A. Donald Bourgeois, until recently head of the Model City Agency, said he was pleased with the increased use of the buses. "We are doing very well," he commented before leaving St. Louis July 8 to accept a position in Washington, D.C. He will be Midwest Area Coordinator for Urban Coalition.

Officials of the bus line said it has done well enough to justify research, now under way, toward establishing a second similar line to connect the inner city with Chrysler Corporation and other plants at suburban Fenton.

Other ghetto-to-industry bus lines may be established here under the grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to the St. Louis Model City Agency.

Impact studied

The bus line from the ghetto to Hazelwood is called TEMPO, an acronym for Transportation Employment Manpower Provide Opportunities. Kenneth Brantley of Voss & Associates is director of promotion for TEMPO and originated its name.

Under subcontracts, three agencies are operating the bus line. The Human Development Corporation of Metropolitan St. Louis is conducting the research and planning. The Bi-State Transit System operates the buses. And two Washington University professors have received a federal grant to study the socioeconomic impact of TEMPO on the St. Louis area. They are Edward Kalachek of the economics department and John Goering of the sociology department.

One day recently TEMPO carried 260 passengers. One bus had 73 passengers, but many are running either empty or almost empty.

"We know there are buses that don't get much use," Mr. Voss said, "but instead of 'folding' those buses and saving the money, our approach is to go to the businesses out there and ask them what we can do about developing more jobs on the shifts that these particular buses serve."

Two groups benefit

Mr. Bourgeois, who has been involved in many programs that match people with jobs, says "this one has the most chance for success."

"It brings new actors into the game," he said, referring to businessmen. "It serves two populations—industry and the hard-core unemployed."

Curtis Gatlin, director of manpower programs for the Human Development Corporation, said: "For many years we have been troubled that many jobs go begging because inner-city workers have no means of getting to them."

It was frustration with the lack of success of car pools and other temporary measures that led to the request for federal funds for the subsidized line, Mr. Gatlin added.

A weekly TEMPO pass is $4.50 and permits unlimited riding. A single fare is 55 cents from downtown, 20 cents less than a normal Bi-State fare for a similar route.

Fares for persons who are riding the buses to seek employment are provided by antipoverty neighborhood stations.

"We like this TEMPO idea," said Daniel Moore, personnel manager for Diversified Metals. "It is a real human thing. It is a slow thing, but we hope it catches on. We are interested because we want workers here on the job. If a man has steady, dependable transportation, we know he will be here."

Private venture to deal with needy Asian firms

By Charlotte Saikowski
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo

A bold venture in private aid to destitute Asian countries is being launched here.

Japanese and American business leaders have agreed to set up a multinational investment company to assist private enterprise in the developing nations.

Behind the move lies a heightened conviction that government-to-government aid has so far proved ineffective in lifting the economies of Asia. The private sector must be strengthened, say the businessmen, if the region is to make economic progress and eventually contribute its markets and skills to an overall expansion of world trade.

The new firm will be called the Private Investment Company for Asia (PICA) and is expected to be established in Tokyo by the end of this year or early 1969. It will be the second of its kind in the world.

The company's financial beginnings will be modest. It will be formed with a minimum capital of $12 million and maximum authorized capital of $40 million. States will each provide one-third of the capital. The remainder will be funded by private corporations of Western Europe as well as Canada and Australia.

Big names participate

Some 21 Japanese firms, including seven major banks, are participating in the venture as sponsoring companies. Among them are such leading names as Fuji Bank, Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Fuji Iron and Steel Company, Sumitomo Chemical Company, and Nissan Motor Company.

The six or so American sponsors include the Chase Manhattan Bank, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and International Business Machines. Names of the West European corporations are not yet known.

To avoid a political or national coloration, investment in PICA (pronounced "peeka") by a single enterprise will be a minimum of $100,000 and a maximum of $400,000. Benefiting nations will not be allowed to invest for the time being.

In the beginning the firm will perform only an investment role, holding shares in local Asian enterprises in such fields as mining, manufacturing, agriculture, and fisheries. It will also provide managerial and technical aid to private firms benefiting from its investment.

Later, say its planners, the company may grant loans.

Needs forecast

Among the countries where PICA expects to do business is South Vietnam. With peace talks under way in Paris, the sponsors say, formation of the company comes at the right time. The needs of economic reconstruction, it is noted, will be enormous.

Although PICA has an idealistic cast, it is not a philanthropic project. Its organizers make no bones about being in business to make money. They will scrutinize needy Asian firms by the standards of good investment practice. But they are willing to wait for a return.

Harutsugu Makita, an official of the Bank of Tokyo who will move into the management of PICA, explained the company's raison d'être this way:

"It will be based on high ideals, so no one expects a quick return. We think it will take at least five years. We are just planting the seed now. In 10 years we may be a strong tree and in 20 years a big tree."

"This is not charity," he added. "The advanced countries must have markets in the developing countries and by helping the undeveloped countries we help everyone."

Capital buildup sought

Mr. Makita observed that $40 million is a paltry sum in light of the overwhelming need. PICA must therefore seek to increase its capital, he said.

PICA can be viewed as a private counterpart of the Asian Development Bank, which was set up in 1966 for government aid in the public sector. Although there is no link between the two, the bank may be able to help PICA by supplying information. Eventually, perhaps, there may be cooperation in joint projects.

The projected company, which will have a multinational directorate and management, is modeled after Atlantic Community Development Group for Latin America (ADELA), an international venture that operates out of Lima, Peru. Eestablished four years ago, ADELA has a capital of $36 million and now earns about $1.5 million a year. It is the success of ADLA, in fact, that has spurred United States and Japanese businessmen to consider a similar project for Asia.

According to the press, the idea for PICA was initially raised in the Confederation of Asian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in June, 1967. A prime mover in subsequent planning has been Yoshizane Iwasa, president of Fuji Bank.

Yoshizane Iwasa

The president of the Fuji Bank has been a prime mover in planning the Private Investment Company for Asia.

★Harsh Soviet terms set in dealing with Czechs

Continued from Page 1

confidence that they can and will withstand the pressures when they come to grips with the Soviet leaders, probably in the next few days.

The Czechoslovak people continue to set out for their summer vacations. But beneath the holiday spirit, abetted by the hordes of tourists all over Prague, the mood is serious.

There is no panic, but more serious-minded people are worried and admit to being less than optimistic about the future.

The official position is that the Soviet Union's terms are tough but that the Presidium hopes or believes that these terms can be modified or whittled down in the course of the talks.

But a whittling down will not be sufficient to allay fears that the reform program is being abandoned under the weight of outside pressures and this could have a disastrous effect on the Dubcek leadership's present popularity and its total national support.

Confusion sighted

It is this, and the confusion which would follow, on which the Russians are undoubtedly counting.

Prace, the trade unions' newspaper, sounded a somber warning of what lies ahead. There are two views, it said, of the Soviet Union's agreement to come to Czechoslovakia for the talks.

One was whether this was an attempt by the Soviet Union to settle the conflict without interference in this country's internal affairs; or

Whether the coming meeting is to be a strict enforcement of the demands contained in the five parties' Warsaw letter of a fortnight ago.

Unfortunately, said Prace, "judging by the tone of propaganda attacks as well as that of official statements, especially in the U.S.S.R. and the GDR [East Germany], the second possibility is more likely.

"Substantially, the point is that a very firm hand be taken against those who, in the terminology of the participants in the Warsaw meeting, are right-wing and anti-socialist forces. These demands might mean also abolition of freedom of the press and of expression in general.

"Enforcement of such demands no longer means interstate controversies but interference in the sovereignty of a state, an attempt to change the conditions of life in Czechoslovakia against the will of the overwhelming majority of the population."

Stock exchange adds closings

By the Associated Press

New York

The board of governors of the New York Stock Exchange extended the one-day-a-week closing of securities markets through Wednesday, Aug. 7.

Decisions will be made on a week-to-week basis on whether the exchanges will close the remaining three Wednesdays in August to permit brokers extra time in which to handle paper work, which has piled up during record trading.

The exchanges are scheduled to close July 31. They have been closing one day a week since June 12.

Fruit-packing unit uses photoelectric cells

By the Associated Press

Tel Aviv, Israel

Two former Israeli Atomic Commission scientists have developed a machine which business sources here predict could lead to a transformation of the fruit-packing industry.

Joel Amir and Omri Talmon have developed a self-contained unit which, they say, eliminates human labor almost entirely.

A photodetection unit grades citrus fruit by measuring the circumference of a shadow thrown on photoelectric cells. It grades the fruit into varying sizes. A compression unit pushes the fruit into a system which automatically packs it.

The machine washes and impregnates the fruit against spoilage during transport or storage. It also wraps and packs the fruit uniformly so that an equal quantity of citrus is consigned to each box.

A simple adjustment on the unit's control panel can make it deal with all kinds of fruit, not just citrus, the scientists assert.

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Post-Vietnam budget weighed

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

There are two views of financing national priorities if and when the Vietnam war ends.

Put in budget terms, one of them goes like this:

	Billions
Saved by Vietnam peace, yearly	$23
Automatic increase, U.S. revenues, yearly	$12
Total extra for urgent domestic needs	$35

The foregoing looks fine on paper.

Every year the expanding United States economy just naturally puts $12 billion more into the Treasury, the hopeful argue, if present taxes are unchanged.

Furthermore, American military expenditures have risen from $50 billion annually in 1965 to $83 billion today. Surely, the hopeful here say, these Pentagon costs could be cut back to $60 billion if the $30 billion-a-year Vietnam cost is eliminated and even if some new weapons were required.

If accurate these figures mean a fine, big bankroll for financing vitally needed domestic programs.

Savings ridiculed

Not so! says another Washington school.

The second viewpoint is far less cheerful. Pentagon costs are going to increase greatly over the next few years, they argue. Half the United States budget goes to defense costs now and the proportion is likely to continue, war or no war.

Furthermore, the new 10 percent surtax is temporary, they point out. Take that away and the Treasury will splash into red ink again.

Here's the situation as the second school sees it:

New Pentagon costs (Funded over years)	Billions
Antiballistic-missile system	$40
Air Force: new strategic bomber	8
F-12 interceptor (2,200 m.p.h.)	6
New Pentagon costs alone	$54
Lost by ending 10 percent surtax	$10

The spokesmen for the second school don't try to put these figures into an exact annual budget. But what they say in effect is: "Savings from ending the Vietnam war? Ha! There aren't going to be any savings!"

Now come Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D) of Wisconsin of the Joint Economic Committee, and Dr. Arthur F. Burns, chairman of President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, 1953-1956, who declare in so many words that what General Eisenhower called "the military-industrial complex" must be curbed.

Both authorities anticipate that cash benefits from peace in Vietnam will be less than expected, and that something must be done lest the Pentagon take it all. Mr. Reuss wants present tax loopholes stopped, for one thing.

A speech by Undersecretary of the Treasury Joseph W. Barr, made in Los Angeles June 25, gives a bleak prospect:

"If the Defense Department is to maintain its current mission in the world—a mission that is defined by our diplomatic objectives—I would seriously doubt that any sizable reductions can be made in the defense budget in the foreseeable future."

Social reformers, Negro leaders, urbanologists have all assumed that when spending stopped for Vietnam more money would be available for desperate needs at home.

But Dr. Burns recently declared:

"The scale of defense expenditures has, to a significant degree, become a self-enforcing process. . . .

"With a large part of our economy devoted to defense activities, the military-industrial complex has acquired a constituency including factory workers, clerks, secretaries, even grocers and barbers. . . .

"The vested interest that numerous communities have acquired . . . may therefore continue to run up costs on top of the rising budgets generated by the momentum of competing military technologies."

In a House speech, Mr. Reuss warns that the military "are out to claim" all the savings from ending the war. His solution: don't "surrender" to the military-industrial complex, and plug tax loopholes.

Here is the Reuss budget:

Hold Pentagon spending to $60 billion a year, saving $23 billion from the war budget.

Add the $12 billion "fiscal dividend" (from annual automatically increased federal tax revenue).

Plug tax loopholes (oil depletion allowance, capital gains device, and municipal bond exemptions) saving $7 billion.

Total—$42 billion.

The federal red ink budget could be absorbed with this sum, says Mr. Reuss, and urgent domestic priorities met. "Somebody will have to stand up to the military spenders and the tax avoiders," he says.

Rare books kept on ice

By the Associated Press

Copenhagen

Danish book experts are keeping several hundred rare volumes in cold storage, encased in blocks of ice.

The books became drenched during fighting of a library fire in Godthaab, Greenland, last February and later froze. The experts plan to thaw them slowly and restore them.

By John Littlewood, staff photographer

A time to dance

Dancing beneath the "International Clock," which plays folk music from various countries on the hour and half hour, in the shopping area of the Midtown Plaza in Rochester, N.Y., are a group of high-school students performing a Balkan dance. Often events with an international flavor are staged beneath the unusual timepiece.

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S	U	P	■	O	V	E	R	A	C	T	S	
I	D	E	A	T	E	■	■	P	I	L	E	
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(Continued)

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BRITISH ISLES—AFRICA CONTINENTAL EUROPE

(Continued)

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Nixon outlook

Advisers see delegate shift to Reagan as main threat

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Key Nixon people have made a close study of the Republican convention delegates and have made this assessment:

● Should their own candidate fail to get the presidential nomination at Miami, California Gov. Ronald Reagan, not New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, would get most of the Nixon delegates.

● Further, unless Richard M. Nixon himself interceded in behalf of Governor Rockefeller, Governor Reagan would win the presidential nomination.

Of course, Mr. Nixon still is confident he will win the nomination. So are his people.

This assessment came in the wake of a Cincinnati governors conference in which the first signs of anxiety appeared among Nixon supporters.

Upsurge possibilities

It came as former Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace continued to forge ahead in public-opinion polls, indicating that he might undermine the Nixon strategy which calls for a strong showing among Southern states.

Rockefeller hopes at the convention actually lie in a Reagan upsurge strong enough to shake loose delegates who now are committed to Mr. Nixon.

Governor Rockefeller sees Governor Reagan as the force that could deprive Mr. Nixon of a first-ballot victory.

He then contends that he would be the one to win at the convention.

But the Nixon appraisal sees the delegates "in both the South and the West" moving to Governor Reagan, not Governor Rockefeller, should there be a move away from Mr. Nixon.

Furthermore, the Nixon people think there would be enough Nixon delegates in the rest of the United States, particularly the Midwest, to give the nomination to Governor Reagan.

Preference queried

"We've made an in-depth study of the delegates," one top Nixonite said. "We know them all, either perssonally or by their records.

"It is true that only about 20 percent are repeaters from the 1964 convention.

"But it is incorrect to assume that the new delegates are progressives or liberals or even moderates. All I can say is that these are delegates, in the main, who would take Reagan, not Rockefeller, if the choice should come down to that."

"Our study," he said, "shows that if it came down to a Rockefeller-Reagan contest, it would be close, but that Reagan would win."

By Norman Mathews, staff photographer

The assessment did not take into account Mr. Nixon's own role if a final confrontation should emerge between Messrs. Reagan and Rockefeller.

How would Mr. Nixon himself want the nomination to go should he not get it for himself?

In an interview with this reporter a year ago Mr. Nixon did speak of what he termed the "inexperience" of Mr. Reagan. The comment was made, however, in comparing Mr. Nixon's own qualifications with other candidates.

Mr. Nixon is not close personally to Governor Rockefeller. But he does have a high regard for his experience as a Governor. Thus, in the still rather unlikely event that Mr. Nixon should lose the nomination he might turn his allegiance to Governor Rockefeller.

This, of itself, might be decisive in a nip-and-tuck battle between Messrs. Rockefeller and Reagan at the convention.

South finds no hint of black plot

By Robert P. Hey
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

Checks with sources throughout the South yield no rumblings whatever of a repeat in the South of this week's Cleveland trouble, which was at first attributed to black nationalists.

There is no indication in the South that black nationalists or other black extremists are planning any such incident there.

"Of course," said one Southern source, "you must realize that these groups are always meeting, and always talking. But are they actually planning any action at this time? No, they are not."

This man was speaking from a large Southern city where there have been incidents from time to time, but of a mild nature when compared with major riots in recent years in large Northern areas — Newark, Detroit, Watts.

Loosely organized units

Before the Cleveland shootings the prevailing opinion among the well informed in the South was that extremist Negroes would be unlikely to plan a riot, or to plan snipings or other violence. But they have warned in recent months that there are in various cities small, very loosely organized groups of extremist blacks who would welcome violence.

And, it is said, once an incident has erupted these blacks, perhaps no more than two dozen even in large cities, could be counted on to try to take advantage of the incident for their own purposes—either to fan its flames, or to build themselves up as leaders.

These groups of radicals within several cities are believed to be locally led, without intercity or interstate connections.

Sources insist that they are very loosely organized, and that rather than being official organizations they are really just small numbers of people who gather sporadically and with a community of views.

What has had city officials throughout the South holding their breath for months is the possibility of some incident with racial overtones arising to provide the spark black extremists might fan to conflagration.

Sparks faded away

Yet sparks do not always "catch"—as two recent incidents in Atlanta have demonstrated.

Twice within the past month policemen have been involved in incidents of violence against Negroes. Most recently a city policeman said he shot and killed a Negro man on a street corner after the latter had pulled a knife and tried to stab the officer, who had stopped him for questioning.

But some witnesses said that an hour previously the police had arrested the man at an intersection several blocks from the reported shooting, and had driven him away in a police car.

Discrepancies in the two stories led to suspension of the policeman, who then resigned. The city still is investigating the incident.

Three weeks earlier a teen-age Negro was shot by another policeman. As an outgrowth of that incident three policemen resigned.

Both incidents are the kind that could tigger a major urban crisis, complete with looting and burning. Both features a confrontation between members of the Negro community and what Negro communities consider their classic enemy—the police.

Yet neither incident led to disorders in a city with a Negro population nearing 50 percent.

Several reasons offered

No one can be certain why, but several reasons are offered as possibilities. Taken together, they may comprise much of the whole.

One possible reason is that Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. largely is regarded in the Negro community as striving to improve conditions for Negro residents. He is speaking energetically all over the city, trying to get more low-income housing built.

He moved hard and fast to implement the recommendations of the presidential commission on riots. He long has been an advocate of civil rights.

Another likely reason is that the city business leadership is committed to providing more job opportunities for Negro residents, although there still is much Negro unemployment.

A third reason is that for all the dissatisfaction that exists with white society in Negro neighborhoods, and especially in slum sections, there is perhaps even greater dissatisfaction with the "burn, baby, burn" view. Numerous Negroes have worked hard over many months during nights when trouble threatened telling the youth to "cool it."

A fourth reason may be that there are comparatively few black extremists in Atlanta who are willing to act violently.

Fewer extremists in South

There are fewer black extremists or nationalists in Southern cities or rural areas than in the large Northern cities.

The reason may lie in the fact that there has been dissillusion with the American way among Negroes in the North for a longer time than in the South. Only recently has the Negro had much expectation of reasonable equality of opportunity or living condition in the South—and even then, only in part of the South.

For many more years, the Negro had thought of the Northern city as a mecca of opportunity. When that opportunity turned out to be less than expected, the optimism turned to frustration. And from that frustration has come extremism.

In the South there has been less frustration, because there had been less optimism. Therefore, perhaps, extremism is a scarcer commodity among the Southern Negro than his Northern brother.

Congressional box score
Second session—As of July 13, 1968

● Scheduled ■ In process ★ Completed

	House				Senate				Final action	
	Hearings	Reported	Debate	Passed	Hearings	Reported	Debate	Passed	Enacted	Vetoed
Agriculture, food grain	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★
Antiriot, open housing	★	★	★	★	★	★	★		★	★
Balance of payments	★	★	★	★	■					
Campaign spending	★	★			★	★	★	★		
Central Arizona Project	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	■	
Codes of ethics	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	
College assistance	★	★	●		★	★	★	★		
Congressional reform	★				★	★	★	★		
Copyright revision	★	★	★	★	★					
Drug-abuse control	★	★	★	★	★	■				
Employment opportunities	■				★					
Foreign-aid authorization	★	★	★	★	★	■				
Homeownership	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	■	
Juvenile delinquency	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	
Long-gun control	★	★	■		★					
Model-cities funds	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	■	
Poverty funds	★	★	★	★	★	●	●			
Redwoods park	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	■	
Rent-supplement funds	★	★	★	★	★					
Scenic rivers	★	★			★	★	★	★		
Tax surcharge	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★
Travel tax	★	★	★	★	★					
Truth in lending	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★
Vocational education	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★		
Wiretapping	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★

Adapted from Congressional Quarterly

Mailmen's group fights new setup

By the Associated Press

Washington

The president of the National Association of Letter Carriers said his organization of mailmen would oppose any move to place the Post Office Department under a government corporation.

Jerome J. Keating told more than 2,000 delegates to a national postal forum the letter carriers feel nothing would be gained from an independent postal corporation and that service would be a "secondary consideration" under such conditions.

Mr. Keating proposed instead support of a bill introduced by Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney (D) of Oklahoma, chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee. The bill, designed to modernize the postal service, would enable the Post Office Department to issue bonds and borrow money for capital investment.

A committee appointed by President Johnson recently issued a lengthy report proposing the Post Office Department be run as a government - franchised corporation.

Rep. Tom Steed (D) of Oklahoma, a member of the House Appropriations Committee, told the delegates he didn't think Congress is likely to adopt the proposal. Mr. Steed contended many postal shortcomings have their origin in the limitation of powers set by Congress.

"Certainly, if Congress becomes willing to give the powers needed for a successful corporation operation, why should Congress be unwilling to give some of these same powers to the present management?" Mr. Steed asked.

A solution to the postal-service problems offered by James A. Farley, former Postmaster General, would hinge on automation.

(THE LETTER YOU SHOULD WRITE LONG BEFORE YOU GO ON VACATION.)

Circulation Manager
THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
P. O. Box 288, Astor Station
Boston, Massachusetts 02123

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address ____ state ____ country ____ zip code ____
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Thank you very much—I wouldn't miss the Monitor for anything!

Sincerely, ____ name ____

address ____ state ____ country ____ zip ____
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MM-103

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Baseball gained, cricket waned

By Cliff Gewecke
Sports correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

Cricket may stem from the medieval French, "criquet," meaning a staff or crutch. In the beginning a cricket bat was a staff. It also may have come from "Creag," one of many games played with club and ball from which cricket may have evolved.

In his book "Ball, Bat, and Bishop," Robert W. Henderson traces cricket back to a festival in England termed "stoolball." A stool was turned seat-surface-down and the ball rolled at the three legs.

The stoolball claim, however, is disputed by the majority of historians. They show evidence that, until 1744, the sport was played with a two-stake wicket, instead of the three stakes now used.

Cricket, in fact, may have had no wickets until about 1769, when some historians say they first were invented. The claim is that in its earliest days the players cut two circular holes in the turf.

A batsman was put out by the ball being thrown into the hole before the bat was grounded into the "crease" (a line 48 inches in front of the hole).

More popular than baseball

Banned by King Edward IV in 1477, and denounced by Oliver Cromwell in 1620, cricket in 1748 was ruled a legal sport in England by the Court of the King's Bench.

As such, it lays claim to being the modern world's first (since Roman Empire days) organized sport.

It came to the United States at the turn of the 18th century, being known in 1707 in Virginia. There is record of a "New York vs. London" match in 1751.

Although many British imports didn't thereafter fare well, cricket survived both the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. Prior to the Civil War it was more popular than baseball, originally rounders.

"It must have been a major sporting event," said John Marder, president of the United States Cricket Association, "because a match was played in 1844 on the site of what is now the New York University School of Medicine, in which $1,000 a side was bet on the outcome.

"But during the Civil War cricket equipment was hard to get," Marder continued. "It became convenient to throw four coats on the ground [as bases], get a bat and a ball, and baseball gradually gained popularity. If it weren't for the Civil War maybe cricket, instead of baseball, would be our national pastime?"

A cricketer, Henry Chadwick, formed one of the early baseball teams. And another cricketer, Harry Wright, formed the first professional baseball team—the Cincinnati Red Stockings—in 1869.

Wright's motive was to promote a game that was faster than cricket and would have more appeal to the masses, which baseball did.

Cricket, though, still flourishes among the aristocracy. Philadelphia, with its Germantown and Merion cricket grounds, was an especial hotbed. Merion still has one of the world's foremost cricket museums and libraries.

The Australian Test team that in 1882 upset England—a match which led to the famous Ashes trophy—was held to a draw by a Philadelphia All-Star team before 25,000 spectators in Philly.

A cricket match played on Staten Island, New York, in 1903 outdrew the baseball World Series. The same year, and again in 1908, teams from Philadelphia toured England.

On these tours the star American player was a tall United States-born baseball-cricket player named John Barton King. He is honored in the book "Ten Great Bowlers," published in England in 1967, as history's greatest-ever swing bowler.

"He adapted his baseball throw to his bowling and he got a tremendous swerve which others began to imitate," says Marder.

By Geoffrey P. Fulton

Follow through

Telephotography makes it seem as if the bowler's vigorous follow through will carry him almost onto the batsman's toes. From opposite ends of the 22-yard pitch the umpire (in cap and blazer) and wicketkeeper watch the flight of the ball intently.

But by 1912, when the Canada-United States match was "temporarily" discontinued (it had existed since 1844), cricket was on the wane.

The magazine, "American Cricketer," which had started in 1877, continued until 1929 when it, too, folded. It started republishing only three years ago — two years after the U.S. Cricket Association was founded.

Cricket came West to Los Angeles during the 1920's. Aubrey Smith Field in Griffith Park was dedicated in 1932. And, until World War II, when activity came to an almost complete halt, a Sunday afternoon league flourished that showcased such movie stars as Sir Aubrey (knighted for his contribution to the British war effort), Nigel Bruce, Basil Rathbone, Boris Karloff, and the flamboyant Errol Flynn.

C. Aubrey Smith, who passed on in 1948, has been called cricket's last patron, in a sport kept alive largely in key hotbeds (Philadelphia, Los Angeles, etc.) by wealthy contributors.

Now, in the 1960's, as the sport spreads into cities throughout the United States, the trend is toward more participation by the average income man.

Second of four articles on "Cricket in America." Next: the game.

Why ballplayers seek a shorter schedule

By Phil Elderkin
Sports writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

By Jim Hughes, staff photographer

Rico Petrocelli
. . . a schedule that just stretches and stretches.

"The trouble with being a big-league ballplayer is that you never get enough time off during the season," said shortstop Rico Petrocelli of the Boston Red Sox. "With the traveling, the night games, the change in time zones, the way your eating habits get all messed up, that occasional open date can look tremendously big to a ballplayer.

"I'd like a chance to walk away from this game for 24 hours about every 10 days and I know a lot of other guys who feel the same way," Petrocelli continued. "The pressure is just too much, especially when you have an August schedule like we have —with no days off and several doubleheaders. I know I'd be a more effective player with more rest.

"For me, the schedule is too long. Baseball would have a better product if it cut back to about 150 games. Then it might be possible to arrange open dates ahead of time."

Rico has an interesting theory about slumps.

"I think most batting slumps are caused by injuries which aren't serious enough to take a man out of the lineup, but which affect his stride or his reach and foul up his timing," Petrocelli explained.

Slow to adjust

"Most slumps start with something physical and then become mental burdens. When I don't hit, I have no idea what I'm doing wrong. I've noticed most players on the Red Sox adjust quicker to problems than I do. While I'm worrying, they're doing something about it. I hear guys talk about slumps and how to get out of them, but most of the time I don't even understand what they mean.

"When I hit, it's usually because I feel strong," Rico remarked. "And when my timing is just right, I hit home runs. But I'll never be a.300 hitter because I'm not strong enough to wait that extra split second on every pitch.

"The great hitters—like Yastrzemski and Frank Robinson—have the strength and the quickness to do this. They can wait until the ball is almost past them before they swing. But I can't. I don't have those kind of reflexes.

"I'd be satisfied with a .260 average and about 60 or 70 runs batted in. I've occasionally batted first or second for the Red Sox, but I actually prefer to hit sixth or seventh."

Importance of instinct

Petrocelli says the thing which keeps him in the lineup every day is his fielding?

"Fielding is the best part of my game and I guess it's because I do it instinctively, Rico emphasized. "I never think about how I'm going to handle this ground ball or that ground ball. I just do it and usually it comes out okay.

"People have always said I have an exceptional arm and I guess they're right. I know when I have to go deep in the hole and reach for a ball and throw sidearm instead of over the top, I get almost as much zing on the ball.

"That's another thing,' Petrocelli continued. "On that kind of play you better be doing and not thinking. Most of the time you don't even get a chance to look for first base. You just make your throw in the general direction and hope the first baseman can reach it.

"I suppose the time will come, after I've lost a step in the field, when I'll be more conscious of switching a little to the left or right for the good hitters. But the way I feel now, I'd much rather just play the ball."

While Petrocelli agrees that most batters have more trouble hitting at night, he says an infielder sees the ball much better in the evening.

"The glare which you get from a high sun isn't there at night and that little extra darkness near the stands means that a ball doesn't suddenly jump out at you from a maze of white shirts," he said. "I find I pick up the direction of the ball much quicker."

Rico claims it's a great help when a shortstop has the same second base partner for every game.

Best in the field

"So much of what goes on in the middle of the infield involves these two men that it's very important that they know each other's likes and dislikes," Petro explained.

"Every infielder has a certain height where he likes to get the ball. Some want it a little high, some a little low. But the point is if the man starting the double play can get the ball to his partner at just the right level, he'll make a faster and probably more accurate throw to first base."

Last year was Rico's best in the majors. Near-perfect fielding and a .296 batting average made him the American League's starting shortstop in the all-star game. Overall, he hit .259, with 17 home runs, and 66 runs batted in.

Rico is at his best, though, when the ball is hit deep in the hole with a runner on third and two men out. First the ball must be overtaken and then thrown with rifle-like speed to first base.

Few shortstops in either league make that play more consistently than Petrocelli.

SPORTS

Baseball standings

(Through July 25)

AMERICAN LEAGUE	W	L	Pct.	GB
Detroit	61	37	.622	—
Baltimore	54	41	.568	5½
Cleveland	55	44	.556	6½
Boston	49	45	.521	10
Oakland	48	49	.495	12½
California	47	50	.485	13½
Minnesota	47	50	.485	13½
New York	44	49	.473	14½
Chicago	40	54	.426	19
Washington	34	60	.362	25

Sunday's games
Minnesota at Oakland
Chicago at California
Boston at Washington
New York at Cleveland, 2
Detroit at Baltimore, twi-n

NATIONAL LEAGUE	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	65	34	657	—
Atlanta	52	46	.531	12½
Cincinnati	48	45	.516	14
S. Francisco	49	39	.500	15½
Chicago	49	50	.495	16
Phil'delphia	46	49	.484	17
Pittsburgh	45	51	.469	18½
New York	47	54	.465	19
Los Angeles	44	54	.449	20½
Houston	43	56	.434	22

Sunday's games
Cincinnati at New York
St. Louis at Pittsburgh
San Francisco at Houston
Atlanta at Philadelphia
Los Angeles at Chicago, 2

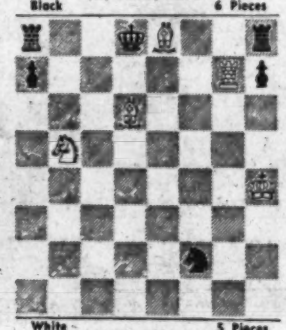
CHESS

By Frederick R. Chevalier
Prepared for The Christian Science Monitor

Problem No. 6034
By Vaux Wilson
Black 7 Pieces

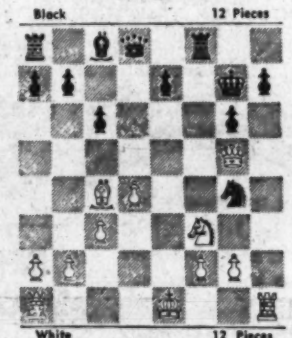
White 8 Pieces
White to play and mate in two
(Especially contributed to The Christian Science Monitor. First publication.)

Problem No. 6035
By Andrej Ancin
Black 6 Pieces



White 5 Pieces
White to play and mate in three
(C. Sachs, 1961.)

End-Game No. 1871
Black 12 Pieces



White 12 Pieces
White to play and win
(Sherwin-Denker, New York, 1968.)

Solutions to Problems

No. 6032. Q-Kt6
No. 6033. 1 P-B8/B, KtxB; 2 PxKt/B
If 1 P-B8/Q, Kt-K4
End-Game No. 1870. Black wins: 1... Kt-K5; 2 BxQ, Kt-K16, etc.

Fischer Not Playing

Bobby Fischer did not return from Europe to compete in the U.S. Championship now being contested in New York. He recently won an international tournament at Natanya, Israel, by three points, but he is not defending the title he first won in 1957-58, and successfully defended in the 18th championship two years ago.

The 12 contestants, as they rank in the "Top 50" list in Chess Life, are Samuel Reshevsky, Larry Evans, Pal Benko, William Lombardy, Robert Byrne, Anthony Saidy, Arthur Bisguier, Bernard Zuckerman, Tibor Weinberger, Herbert Seidman, Nicholas Rossolimo, and Al Horowitz.

Horowitz has not played in a national event since 1951. In the U.S. Open he was champion in 1943 and co-champion in 1938. He is editor of Chess Review and chess correspondent of the New York Times.

Fischer has won the title whenever he competed, beginning in 1957-58, but he did not play in 1961-62, when Larry Evans won. Evans also won the title in 1951. Arthur Bisguier won in 1954, with Evans second and Seidman third.

Lombardy was second to Fischer in 1960-61. In 1966, after Fischer came Evans and then Benko. Veteran Reshevsky first won the title in 1936. He also won in 1938, 1940, shared first with Kashdan in 1942, and finally in 1946.

This year's championship winds up July 31, at the Empire Hotel in New York.

Games From the United States Championships

Ruy Lopez

Byrne White	Seidman Black	Byrne White	Seidman Black
1 P-K4	P-K4	13 Kt-B4	B-Kt5
2 Kt-KB3	Kt-QB3	14 P-KR3	BxKt
3 B-Kt5	P-QR3	15 QxB	P-KB4
4 B-K4	P-QB3	16 Q-QKt3	B-Q5
5 P-B3	B-Q2	17 B-K3	BxB
6 P-Q4	Q-R2	18 RxB	P-B5
7 O-O	P-KKt3	19 B-QB3	P-QKt4
8 QKt-Q2	B-Kt2	20 Q-R3	QxP
9 R-K	PxP	21 KtxPch	Resigns
10 BxKt	BxB		
11 PxP	O-O-O		
12 P-Q5	B-Q2		

Queen's Gambit Declined

Weinberger White	Bisguier Black	Weinberger White	Bisguier Black
1 Kt-KB3	Kt-KB3	13 P-KR3	PxP
2 P-Q4	P-Q4	14 KtxP	R-K
3 P-QB4	P-K3	15 Kt-B5	Q-K4
4 Kt-B3	P-B3	16 P-KKt3	Q-B4
5 P-K3	QKt-Q2	17 P-KR3	Kt-Kt3
6 Q-B2	B-Kt5	18 Kt-Kt5	KtxP
7 P-QR3	B-R4	19 B-K3	QxKt/B4
8 B-Q3	O-O	20 KtxB	KtxB
9 O-O	PxP	21 PxKt	Q-B6
10 BxP	B-B2	22 K-R2	BxP
11 R-Q	Q-K2	23 KxB	R-K4
12 P-K4	P-K4	Resigns	

Saigon inches toward objectives

By a special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Saigon

The famous "Declaration of Honolulu" issued 2½ years ago, contained a four-pronged common commitment between President Johnson and Vietnam's President Thieu. How has it fared in the interval between that first Honolulu conference and the second one just concluded?

A significant difference between the two Allied governments appeared on the crucial issue of peace in the 1966 declaration, which contained three separate sections—the objectives of the United States Government, the objectives of the South Vietnamese Government, and the common commitments of the two governments.

The first common commitment was "defense against aggression." The South Vietnamese Government defined this positively —"to defeat the Viet Cong and those illegally fighting with them on our soil."

Dual American goal

The Vietnamese section did not explicitly commit its government to peace. The American Government expressed its objective negatively in simply "preventing aggression" and to "remain determined no path to peace shall be unexplored."

In short, the South Vietnam goal was victory; the stated American goal was the dual one of fighting while seeking to negotiate. However, American military commanders openly exuded optimism the war could be won. And Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey in a visit to Vietnam following the first Honolulu conference stated this publicly.

The Paris peace talks illustrate an advancement toward this goal outlined two years ago—but almost no one at this time in Saigon is predicting whether South Vietnam is facing peace or more war.

The current military status in South Vietnam indicates that the Communist Tet offensive against the cities constituted a partial strategic and tactical defeat for the Communists.

"Since Tet the Communists have recovered at some times in a local sense, but in a strategic sense they have not recovered from their heavy casualties," one knowledgeable source said. Currently, Allied commanders say the Communists are attempting a strategic recovery in order to launch another offensive.

But, despite miiltary losses, the Communists scored a psychological and political victory at Tet, particularly in Washington and secondly in Saigon.

Self-rule obtained

A second common objective was the "goal of self-government." The South Vietnamese Government spelled this out as formulating a democratic constitution and installing an elected government.

Despite internal disorders and charges of rigging the election, the South Vietnamese Government accomplished this with some measure of success on the surface.

The legitimacy of the elected government now is the cornerstone of the political battle with the Communists, especially in negotiating a peace settlement.

The Vietnamese Constitution outlaws communism and the elected two house Legislature and president are considered here to be so anti-Communist they currently serve as an official brake on movement toward an internal accommodation with the Viet Cong—often discussed as an important part of a peace settlement.

However, the formal process of Vietnamese citizens casting ballots in the national election last year did not win the government the desired popular support. Currently, while the Vietnamese Government hold legal power, the Communists are considered tunneling under its authority by attempting to spark a "general uprising."

In the villages only a few miles from Saigon, for example, the Communists reportedly are issuing ammunition and weapons to the peasants. As a result government village chiefs have fled their offices for security in larger, more distant towns.

The other two common Allied objectives are more difficult to assess: to work for a social revolution and to attack hunger, ignorance, and disease.

On the American side, an unprecedented effort was made to help the Vietnamese Government give its people normal services —such as education and public health—normally forgotten in the midst of a war.

School plan succeeds

In one significant forward step, the Vietnamese Government, with American aid, built enough schools and trained enough teachers to jump the number of primary school-age children in classrooms from 58 percent to 72 percent, the government is likely to meet its goal of having 85 percent of these children in classrooms by the end of 1969. In 1954, when South Vietnam was granted independence, only 5 percent of the primary school-age children were enrolled in school, official statistics show.

But, the pivotal land-reform program—which the American Government committed itself to in the declaration of Honolulu —made virtually no progress during the last 2½ years.

The Vietnamese Government itself was being proportionately weakened—more and more problems created by the war were thrust upon it at the same time as its best personnel was siphoned off to serve the Vietnamese Army.

It also faced the problems of double subversion: Communist fifth-columnists within its administration and corruption, in which bribes and grafts to government officials negated the law of the land.

Now, 2½ years later, the newly appointed Cabinet of Tran Van Huong has not made major strides in coping with the enormous problems of governing effectively. But, the prestigious premier has taken the most important step of all—the first one—to begin to correct the injustices and abuses that have prevented or negated Vietnam's social revolution.

Last of a three-part review of developments from the 1966 Honolulu conference to the second one recently concluded. The second article appeared on July 23.

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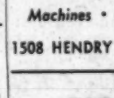
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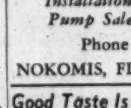
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A 'Mayflower' to Hawaii's Japanese immigrants

Hawaii Visitors Bureau Photo

Traditions

Even after the 100 years since the first Japanese immigrated to Hawaii, the love of their new land is enriched with their love of ancient traditions. This 100-percent American girl from Hawaii enjoys dressing up in a costume from the land of her ancestors.

By Barbara J. Fox
Honolulu

What the Mayflower was to the English in Massachusetts, the sailing ship Scioto was to the Japanese in Hawaii in 1868. In the spring of that year the Scioto brought the first Japanese immigrants to Hawaii.

For 38 often stormy days they had had nothing to eat but rice. Finally on June 18, 141 Japanese men, six women, and a three-year-old boy crowded to the Scioto railings to catch a glimpse of their "Tenjiku" (heavenly place).

This summer all Hawaiians are proudly commemorating the 100th anniversary of the start of one of America's important immigration chapters. Numerically the Japanese never equaled the Irish, Italians, or German influxes. But their contribution has been great, especially to the 50th state.

The 148 immigrants in 1868 had eagerly signed on for the move to what was then a tiny island kingdom. They would earn twice as much as they had in Japan, they were assured. Food, clothing, and medical care were also promised.

♪ ♪ ♪

The immigrants were contracted to work for three years, mainly on sugar plantations, but also as domestic servants.

Unfortunately few were farmers. Instead the group included tailors, potters, florists, goldsmiths, and a priest. And the one immigrant diarist sadly recorded that "most of us were lawless gamblers and roughnecks who gloried in fights."

The early years for the Japanese in Hawaii were not particularly happy. Working and living conditions were a lot harsher than the immigrants had been led to expect.

Some of the first group returned to Japan after a few years. Most of those who remained married Hawaiian women and were assimilated into the Hawaiian community.

By the 1884 census, only 116 Japanese could be identified in Hawaii. But the Japanese plantation workers had always been considered the most profitable. They were greatly in demand.

♪ ♪ ♪

So immigration efforts picked up noticeably. By 1894, when the contract labor system ended, there were 25,000 Japanese in Hawaii.

Altogether before the immigration clampdown in 1924, 144,000 Japanese came to Hawaii. Today they make up the largest ethnic group in the state—one-third of the population.

And three of the four congressional members Hawaii sends to Washington are of Japanese ancestry.

The Japanese immigrants in the 1884-to-1924 group preserved a great deal of national and cultural pride in their new land. For instance, by the 1930's there were 160 Japanese language schools in Hawaii. Language, customs, and economics tended to isolate the Japanese in Hawaii.

This caused tense moments in December, 1941, when Pearl Harbor was attacked. There were some arrests of Japanese and some internments. The language schools were closed (and never regained their importance when they were finally reopened after the war).

But Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA) demonstrated tremendous bravery and loyalty during World War II in their famed 442nd Battalion.

Spark Matsunaga, one of Hawaii's United States representatives, says that World War II was the "catalyst which brought the AJAs into the mainstream of Hawaiian and American life."

♪ ♪ ♪

What a remarkable record they have shown over a century! One hundred years ago they had few freedoms and rights and no representation.

Women with babies strapped to their backs worked from dawn to dark chopping weeds in the cane fields.

Out of wages of 40 cents a day, they saved their pennies. Originally they saved to go back to Japan.

Later their Hawaii-born children had no desire to leave for an unknown homeland. Then frugal parents saved for education for their children. AJA veterans took advantage of the GI Bill of Rights to get college educations. And today AJAs have earned top business and professional positions.

And one of Hawaii's U.S. senators is Daniel K. Inouye, whose father was born in Japan. The Senator's grandparents on both sides were immigrant plantation workers.

The caneworkers' grandson will be temporary chairman of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago this year. He will also be the keynote speaker.

FAMILY FEATURES

Silver cache under ground

By Doreen E. Cole

Below ground in Chancery Lane, London, there are over 40 small rooms crammed from floor to ceiling with silver, the merchandise of the silver merchants of the London Silver Vaults.

The Chancery Lane Safe Deposit, opened in 1882, was first used by the silver merchants of nearby Hatton Garden to safeguard their valuable stocks at night. The original building was destroyed in one of the bombing raids on London during World War II, and when the new vaults were erected in 1953, they became a trading center, not just for merchants and dealers, but for all.

It isn't necessary to have a silver-lined purse to enjoy the thrill of taking home a souvenir. The prices of the merchandise on display range from a few shillings to many hundreds of pounds. There are tiny replicas of tea sets, collector's pieces of every description, antique domestic silver and cutlery. I was intrigued by silver trowels made to commemorate the laying of foundation stones of historic buildings by important and famous personages. I saw a large silver nef — a model of a sailing ship perfect in every detail — and inkstands made from the hoofs of horses which were engraved with the horse's name.

Fine china is also to be found in the vaults. Here are perfect examples of craftsmanship from England's finest manufacturers: table services, figurines, jugs, and gift ware, again something can be found to suit any pocket. There are china artificial flowers on stems for vases and china pomanders.

In two or three of the vaults jewelry is sold, and the wide selection embraces priceless gems, semiprecious stones, and inexpensive trinkets. Some of the delightful gold or silver bracelet charms — a tiny replica of a London bus or a policeman's helmet—make perfect keepsakes.

There are many objets d'art to be seen, amongst them ivories, jade, coins, and medals.

The vaults are open 9 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. Monday to Friday, and 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. on Saturday.

Get there by bus to Chancery Lane-Fleet Street end or Holborn end — Chancery Lane. The nearest underground station is the Chancery Lane station. By taxi, ask for the London Silver Vaults, Chancery Lane.

Dialogue

"Dialogue with youth" has been suspended while Mr. Canham is on vacation. This popular daily column will appear regularly again starting Aug. 1.

Pen friends

Margaret P., Arcadia, Calif., (U.S.A.) 16. Would like Spanish or Mexican pen friends of any age.

♪ ♪ ♪

Moriko K., Saitama-Ken, Japan, 15. Junior-high student would like English-speaking pen pals to help her improve her English.

If you wish to answer a letter published in the column, enclose your own letter in an unsealed envelope, and address it in pencil with the name and address as it appears in the column. Put it in another envelope addressed to Pen Pal Editor, The Christian Science Monitor, One Norway Street, Boston, Mass. 02115. It's important that your letter carry correct postage for its destination overseas.

For children

'One man's trash—another man's treasure'

By Linda Alexander
Illustrated by Jane MacKenzie

Short, roly-poly Mr. Smoot and tall, toothpick-slim Mr. Smathers were friends. One day Mr. Smoot went to call on Mr. Smathers.

"Good morning, Smathers, what are you doing this bright day?"

"Nothing I'm afraid, Smoot," replied Mr. Smathers. "There is much that needs doing, but I've let things pile up so that now I can't do anything until I get my garage cleaned out. I can't even find the lawnmower anymore. But somehow I haven't been able to make myself start, and the longer I put it off, the more I don't want to do it."

"You know I have the same problem," said Mr. Smoot. "I'll tell you what. Why don't I come over here Saturday morning and help you clean your garage, and the next Saturday morning you come and help me clean mine? That way the work will go faster and we can visit."

"Agreed!" said Mr. Smathers.

Early Saturday morning Mr. Smoot put on his garage-cleaning clothes and, with his small trailer hitched to his car, drove to Mr. Smathers' house. He knocked on the front door, but no one answered. Then he knocked on the back door, the side door, and even on the windows, calling "Halloooo, Smathers!" but still there was no answer.

"Hmmmm," mused Mr. Smoot, "he must have gone on an errand. Well, I may as well go ahead and start. No doubt he'll be back soon." But after a while, when Mr. Smoot stopped to rest, he glanced at his watch and was amazed to see that two hours had passed and still Mr. Smathers had not returned. "I wonder if he forgot?" he asked himself. "Oh well, I've gone this far, I may as well finish," and he continued to work, sorting "trash" from what appeared to be valuable and throwing it into the trailer until finally the trailer could hold no more. Then, with the last of the throw-away items teetering precariously on top of the load, he drove off to the city dump.

The first thing that met his eyes when he arrived at the dump was not the rubbish pile, although it was an awesome sight, but another trailer, equally as full as his own, on the top of which perched what looked like his very own and most treasured fishing hat. Just then a tall, toothpick-slim figure stepped from behind the trailer.

"Smathers!" cried Mr. Smoot.

"Smoot!" shouted Mr. Smathers. "Where have you been?"

"I've been 'helping' you clean your garage as we agreed," said Mr. Smoot a bit sarcastically, "and you?"

♪ ♪ ♪

"Why, I thought this was the day to clean yours," Mr. Smathers said, "so I went to your house early this morning and when you weren't there, I started without you, thinking you'd return soon. When you didn't, I just decided to finish the job, and here I am."

Mr. Smoot laughed. "Well I declare! I did the very same thing. Some help we were to each other, eh? Oh well, the important thing is the job is done. But say, what's the idea of throwing out my fishing hat?" he asked, snatching the battered old relic from the top of the load.

"That old thing?" asked Mr. Smathers. "It looked like trash to me."

"Trash!" exclaimed Mr. Smoot. "I'll have you know it's taken me 10 years to get this hat in this condition. It couldn't be replaced for any price."

"Well, while we're on the subject," said Mr. Smathers, taking a thin, graham-cracker-size piece of wood from the other trailer, "I see that you've discarded something of mine that I've been looking for for weeks."

"That little chip?" said Mr. Smoot. "What is it?"

"This is my grandfather's clock leveler," explained Mr. Smathers. "One of the clock's legs is a smidgen too short and this is the only thing I've ever found that's just the right thinness to make it level. It simply won't run without it."

♪ ♪ ♪

"Well," said Mr. Smoot, "to coin a phrase, it looks as if one man's trash is another man's treasure. I think we'd better go through our own things and resort them."

Mr. Smathers agreed. "I guess there's no getting around it," he said, "this is just one of those jobs each person has to do for himself."

"You're right, Smathers, but you know, now that it's done, I'm rather glad it happened this way," said Mr. Smoot, as he began tossing things on the rubbish heap. "Some of these things really are good for nothing, even to me, but if I'd been doing it, I'd never have had the nerve to get rid of them."

Mr. Smathers chuckled. "Same here," he said. "So we really did help one another after all."

"Yes," said Mr. Smoot, "and best of all, we can still have that visit." With that they went happily to work.

A verse for today...

Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall by any means hurt you.—LUKE 10:19

Quotation for today

I would have you be . . . like a fire well kindled, which catches at everything you throw in, and turns it into flame and brightness.
—MARCUS AURELIUS

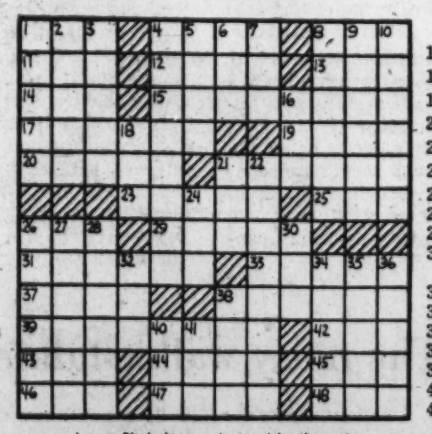
Daily crossword puzzle

Across

1. Bengal quince
4. Emanate
8. Flatfish
11. Chopping tool
12. Rail
13. United
14. Eat lightly
15. Emotes
17. Form a notion
19. Nap
20. Boldness
21. Breakfast dish
23. Wear away
25. Fodder plant
26. Prior to
29. Furious
31. Edit
33. Cut in two
37. Dyeing apparatus
38. Lasso
39. Approve
42. Past
43. Yale
44. Including
45. Kind of buoy
46. Dry
47. Baker's shovel
48. Numskull

Down

1. Hollow in the earth
2. Discharge
3. Lazar
4. Confidential
5. Progress
6. Wrath
7. Old sailor
8. Tractable
9. Deer's horn
10. Perplexes
16. Anthropoid
18. Salutation
21. Turkish chamber
22. Wood alcohol
24. Morsel
26. Obliterates
27. Entertain
28. Paradisiacal
30. Musical perception
32. Curve
34. Climbing vine
35. Cranial nerve
36. School jackets
38. Misplace
40. Faucet
41. — de France



Answer Block Appears Among Advertisements

The Christian Science Monitor

"What a place to think you're lost—right on the edge of the map!"

Editorials

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Commentary

Saturday, July 27, 1968

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

PUBLISHED BY THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PUBLISHING SOCIETY

The obligation to inform

The next president of the United States will not only be extremely wary of getting mired in "another Vietnam." He will also — when any major problem, domestic or foreign, looms — be alert to the need for adequately informing the people all about that problem, its dimensions, its impact, and his proposed solutions. He may wish to mobilize his Cabinet, his vice-president, members of his party in Congress, for the task.

The events of the last few years, and particularly the public's rejection of President Johnson's Vietnam policy, have made clear how essential is this obligation to keep the American people fully informed — to discuss issues frankly, to "carry the public along."

Biographers of Lyndon Johnson list as one of his administration's major shortcomings this insufficiency of persuasive rapport with the people. The President could lecture, he could pound home, he could argue. But he and his Cabinet did less well in making available all the pertinent facts, all the surrounding influences — the stakes, the issues of principle, the full picture. When the crunch came on Vietnam, and the war costs soared, in terms of both lives and treasure, the public mind was not ready for the ordeal.

All the presidential candidates this year seem alert to the problem. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller gave a useful example of "how to enlighten" in his hour-long television discussion with commentator Paul Niven. As the discourse ranged from topic to topic — from Vietnam to the plight of the cities, a relaxed Mr. Rockefeller spoke frankly of the obstacles, the philosophic angles, the likely prospects, his proposed solutions.

Richard Nixon has likewise noted that the presidency offers a vast opportunity for "open" leadership — he has remarked that Teddy Roosevelt called it a "bully pulpit." Hubert Humphrey has urged the fullest use of the presidential opportunities to "inform the American people."

The skills of leadership are not learned overnight. And a president is up against the fact that a surprising number of Americans — not the articulate ones, and not those that parade and debate — have only the foggiest notion of affairs. Opinion polls a few years back revealed that, of those questioned, one person out of four actually did not know that mainland China was ruled by Communists, and that same proportion knew nothing at all about the NATO alliance.

A president has to judge, deftly, how far and how fast he can lead. Perhaps no presentation could have made a Vietnam war palatable. But in these complex times, the need for a constant stream of enlightenment and insight flowing out of the White House is essential to a successful presidency.

Make-believe

There is something intrinsically make-believe about a man waiting to be called to the throne of a European country in this hard-boiled year of 1968. It is a situation which only the steadfastest of monarchists could take truly seriously. And it is particularly "full fantasticall" when that waiter is not only a Bourbon but twofold so.

Yet, year after year, Juan Carlos Alfonso Victor Maria de Borbón y Borbón sits languishing and longing for the Spanish throne, last sat upon by his grandfather Alfonso XIII. Although between Don Carlos and the high seat in Madrid still stands his father, Don Juan, there is a strong feeling in Spain that, if a Bourbon is again bidden to the royal palace, it will be the younger man.

Many Spaniards strongly hold that a king is needed, not only as a longtime symbol of order and authority, but also as a kind of national rallying point to help tide the nation over the eddies expected when Francisco Franco's hand is removed. With that cynicism wherewith so many Latins view their national fellows where politics and democracy are concerned, large numbers of Spaniards firmly believe that their fellow countrymen cannot be trusted to govern themselves unsupervisedly.

Maybe a king is needed in Spain. After all, Spaniards may be the best judges of what they need (although some cynics, viewing that land's long and tragic history might question this). Yet there is something incongruous-seeming in a man struggling for the throne these days. Mostwhere the talk is of more democracy and director self-rule. In this era of rioting students, casualness of custom, lack of reverence for so much that is inherited, the pomp and circumstance of Bourbon pretensions appear anachronistic.

It would still seem that a Spain — unequivocally republican and staunchly democratic — would be the healthier land.

Mr. Humphrey, return the money

Vice-President Hubert Humphrey should immediately return the $50,000 donated to his race by the Seafarers International Union. The national Democratic Party should also forthwith return a like amount from the same union. Why? Because the money smells.

Signs indicate that the money was given after Secretary of State Dean Rusk refused to extradite to Canada Harold Banks, former head of the union's Canadian branch, who fled to the United States to avoid serving a five-year term for the rank offense of hiring strong-arm gangsters to beat up a rival union leader.

Although many (and with much reason) deem the Rusk decision to have been a serious mistake, no one implies any improper financial motivation on the Secretary's part. Nor is it suggested that the Vice-President is in any way implicated in anything improper. Whether figures in the Democratic Party sought to capitalize on the State Department's decision is another matter.

But, notwithstanding all this, a sense of propriety and fitness categorically requires that this $100,000 be returned. The American people do not want their leaders or their parties to be helped by money from organizations which have in their ranks persons such as Harold Banks. The United States should watch to see if Mr. Humphrey and the Democrats show a becoming sense of obligation in this matter.

This is a year of great political discontent and suspicion in the United States. Large groups of voters are more or less "alienated." There is widespread feeling among youth that their elders have set a pretty shabby political example. This belief would only grow deeper were the Vice-President and the Democratic Party to accept monies from unworthy sources. It would be not only morally right but politically wise for Mr. Humphrey and the Democrats to rid themselves of this $100,000.

The noisy walkie-talkies

A writer on United Kingdom affairs referred recently to that "wordless adjustment" which he said was a hallmark of British life.

Perhaps quiet and wordless accommodation is what makes living civilized and supportable in that kingdom which has more people living to the square mile than any country in Europe save the Netherlands — and more than some sections of India. "Wordless adjustment," practiced over the centuries, makes for orderliness in the bus queues and quiet conversation (if any talk at all!) in the railway coaches.

This sense of civilized conduct — of regard for the rights of others and everyone having a fair say — appears even within the crowds on London's Kings Road, where the mini-skirted and the mod generation parade up and down on Saturdays, to stare and be stared at. There is a gentleness and a consideration even in these jostling journeys, and only very very occasionally an explosion into disorder or fisticuffs.

On rare occasions, as in the anti-Vietnam marches against the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square, when windows were smashed and partisans sought to chain themselves to the local ironwork, British youth do explode into violence. But even here it can be argued that most of the motivators and leaders of such marches came over from the continent.

There is something which American youth could learn from this "wordless adjustment." Civilized conduct got lost in the scuffle, for instance, on a recent David Susskind television panel, when students were outstandingly rude and interrupting, vigorously vocal and full of self-importance, as they made their points.

If their purpose was to shout down Mr. Susskind, who can usually take care of himself, or to blot out counterarguments, they succeeded. But to the watching audience, these tactics, violating the canons of orderly debate, were self-defeating. A lot of watchers could only conclude that some of the students participating thoroughly deserved expulsion from their universities. If they wanted a college structured entirely differently, the conclusion all too readily could be, let them go somewhere and found it.

There is much to be said for animated discussion — and also for not only giving the opponent a chance to talk, but actually listening to what the opponent has to say.

Child prodigy

Weeds of isolationism

Point of view

By Roscoe Drummond

Washington

The weeds of a dangerous isolationism are beginning to grow in Congress.

They are not always so identified, but actions which greatly weaken the resources of the United States to build and to protect the peace have the same effect whatever they are called.

Congress is threatening to take two such actions right now and in both cases the constructive role which the United States can and must play in the world will be seriously impaired. There is no present assurance that either mistake will be averted.

Consequences

The threatened actions are these:

The House is proposing to scuttle the nation's foreign aid program.

The Senate is proposing to withdraw most of our troops now in Western Europe.

Let's look at the consequences which would flow from these actions.

On Foreign Aid — The administrator of the Agency for International Development, William S. Gaud, does no more than state the facts clearly and bluntly when he says: "The developing countries, thanks to their efforts and ours, are on the verge of unprecedented success — while our foreign aid is on the verge of unprecedented trouble."

The AID program faces near disaster at the hands of Congress right now. Year after year foreign aid has been approved with fewer votes and such slashed appropriations that it is at the point of being so undernourished that it can't do its job. Last year it was approved by a margin of only eight votes in the House before which its fundings had already been cut 30 percent below the President's request. This year's program is in worse jeopardy.

Encouraging growth

Who are the advocates of foreign aid in the United States? Who dares stand up and say that foreign aid serves the interests of the United States by helping the developing countries help themselves and by furthering national stability which is the first ingredient of peace? Let me cite some:

President Truman, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, President Johnson; Secretaries of State George Marshall, Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles, Christian Herter, Dean Rusk; Secretaries of Defense Charles Wilson, Neil McElroy, Robert McNamara, Clark Clifford and presidential candidates Hubert Humphrey, Richard Nixon, Nelson Rockefeller, and Eugene McCarthy.

Why is Congress spurning the unanimous and urgent judgment of these men that foreign aid is vital to the national interest?

Not because the foreign aid program is a drain on the United States balance of payments. It isn't. Nearly every dollar is spent in the United States.

Wrong initiative

Not because the aid program is not getting good results. It is. The aided countries are showing encouraging economic growth and stability.

The reason is that many in Congress have decided that the American people have become so weary and divided over the Vietnam war that they would like to stop the world and get off. And this becomes either a reason or a pretext for chopping the foreign aid program to bits.

Two questions: Shouldn't the critics of the Vietnam war, who claim they are the most peace-minded, be supporting, not opposing, the nation's primary instrument of peace in the developing world? Shouldn't they — and others — be coming to the aid of foreign aid? It can still be saved.

On NATO Troops — With considerable support in Congress, Sen. Stuart Symington (D) of Missouri is pressing an amendment to the military budget to force the Defense Department to cut United States troops in Western Europe by 85 percent.

This at a time when the Communists are again violating the access agreements on West Berlin, this by a one-sided United States action when we should be seeking a reciprocal reduction of both Soviet and United States troops in Europe; this at a time when NATO, under attack by de Gaulle, needs steadfast United States support; this at a time when we have a new agreement with West Germany to pay most of the dollar costs of United States troops in Germany where most are stationed.

Surely this is the wrong initiative at the wrong time under the wrong circumstances.

Mirror of opinion

Government by decree

One possible explanation for the people's deepening sense of frustration is their realization that the federal government increasingly is falling into the hands of persons not touched by the elective process and therefore not responsive to it.

The people now are governed not so much by enacted statutes as by directives and regulations flowing in ever-widening torrents from federal administrative agencies operating under broad grants of authority conferred on them by Congress.

Government by decree has reached a point at which a complete turnover of elected officials, including Congress and the White House, doesn't necessarily entail a significant change in the federal government's direction.

To borrow the words of Rep. James Utt of California, "you are governed more and more by people for whom you have never voted, for whom you never will vote, whom you have never seen and whom you cannot recall by your vote."

Government by administrative decree is nothing new, of course. It began to evolve almost as soon as Congress started enacting laws that called for federal supervision and enforcement. Its explosive growth began with the massive federal interventions of the New Deal era. But it has taken a particularly sinister turn lately with the increasing use of federal tax money to bribe or bull-doze the states and localities into acceptance of the sociological "reforms" favored by the central bureaucrats.

Money is power, and the federal taxing power threatens to become the vehicle for the central government's ultimate detailed direction of the entire economy. — **Daily Oklahoman**

No gun for Clyde

Complaints against the glorification of violence have now been felt at the famed London Wax Museum, where the unveiling of figures of Bonnie and Clyde was delayed until the gun could be removed from Clyde's hand. Such ambivalence is revealing. It neatly summarizes how man's desire for peace and decency is matched, if not pathetically exceeded, by his fascination with practitioners of mayhem and murder. — **Milwaukee Journal**

Our readers write

Letters from readers are welcome. All are subject to condensation. We assume no responsibility for statements made.

The changing causes

To The Christian Science Monitor:

When the Nigerian war broke out in July, 1967, the alleged aim of the Ibos was to save the people of the former Eastern Region and their property from the barbaric hands of the Hausas. From interviews with the Ibos, prominent papers reported the conflict as a tribal war: Hausa vs. Ibo. It did not require any proof on the part of the Federal Government of Nigeria to counteract the tribe theory since in the alleged Hausa army there were people from minority groups in "Biafra," Yorubas, Fulanis, Tivs, etc.

When the world saw the tribe theory disproved, the conflict was transformed automatically into a religious war: Christianity vs. Islam. Christians would like to see the Christian front—Biafra in their eyes—claiming victory, but it so happens that 75 percent of the soldiers in the supposed Moslem army of the Federal Government are good active Christians. But the territorial integrity of Nigeria is still challenged by the World Council of Churches, the Catholic Church, the Red Cross and some private and governmental agencies.

The sympathetic public, reporters, Christians, and others would do Biafrans a world of good if they would tell the Ibos the right thing to do, instead of fanning their vain hopes and aspirations, which to their regret, always end in despair and frustration. They could be told that history has in its record many attempted secessions.

L. A. Bassey
Secretary General
Nigerian Students Union in the Americas
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Authentic anecdotes

To The Christian Science Monitor:

For a book I am currently researching on the subject, I would welcome authentic anecdotes, amusing or dramatic, about barbers or barber-shops, past or present.

5 Justin Ct.
610 London Rd.
Thornton Heath
Surrey, England — **Ivor Smullen**

Negative income tax

To The Christian Science Monitor:

Recent experiences in Massachusetts afford some very valuable insight into the practical operation of a negative income tax. It is not generally appreciated that Massachusetts has had a modified form of negative income tax since March 2, 1966, when its sales tax law was enacted. One of the objections advanced by the opponents of the sales tax was its allegedly regressive effect. To eliminate this assumed regressivity, the legislation embodying the sales tax also contained a provision that a resident of Massachusetts whose income, combined with that of his spouse, was less than $5,000 should be entitled to a credit of four dollars for his spouse, and eight dollars for each dependent. Thus a married man with four children is entitled to a $40 credit. This credit is applied first against his Massachusetts income tax liability, and to the extent that the credit exceeds such liability, the taxpayer is entitled to a cash refund.

Massachusetts Tax Commissioner Cleo F. Jaillet discussed the problems raised by this credit device at a recent meeting of the National Association of Tax Administrators at Baltimore. Commissioner Jaillet came to the Massachusetts Tax Department with a wide background of experience, having served for over 30 years in the Federal Internal Revenue Service and is thus no neophyte in tax administration. He pointed out that using an income tax return to carry out a social program meant that the tax return had to be revised and greatly complicated to supply all information pertinent to the allowance of the credit.

Experience has shown that the only effective way to enforce an income tax on low bracket taxpayers is to have their employers withhold the tax from their wages. Individual audit of returns is a practical impossibility.

The great fallacy of the negative income tax is that there is no litmus paper which can be applied to a tax return to determine whether the person who has signed it is telling the truth or not. Under the Massachusetts credit system, the amounts to be gained by improperly filling out a return, although substantial in the aggregate, do not amount to a great deal in any individual case. Under the negative income tax proposals which have been circulated, the amounts involved would put a greater incentive on dishonesty.

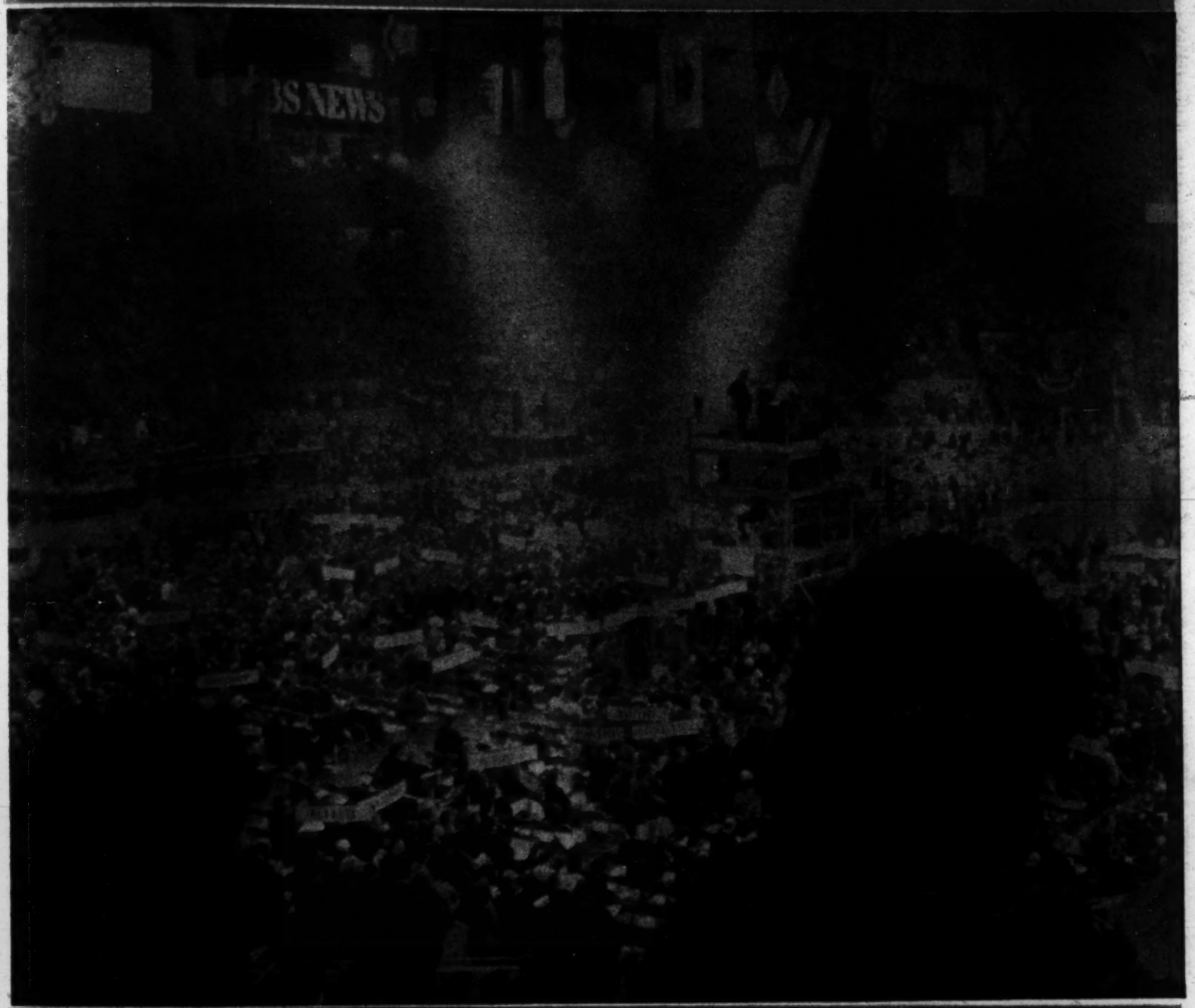
Claims for credit by persons having over the maximum amount of income are by no means the only way to beat the system. Commissioner Jaillet reported that there were about 3,000 cases where taxpayers filed more than one return, claiming a credit on each one. Verifying the number of the taxpayer's dependents is as difficult as verifying his reported income.

One of our Supreme Court justices said that the great advantage of our federal system is that each state is, in substance, a test tube in which experiments can be tried without doing any nationwide damage. It is highly important that all those who are interested in the negative income tax take a look to see what is going on in the Massachusetts test tube.

Boston — **John Dane Jr.**

Convention guide '68

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



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Chicago—1880

For 35 ballots the convention was deadlocked — Grant vs. Blaine. Excitement was at a pitch. Then a lone voice on the convention floor shouted "We want Garfield." On the 36th ballot James A. Garfield got the nomination.

Anything can happen

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

HERE ARE SOME HISTORIC highlights of the turbulent United States convention process. Anything can happen. And often does.

1831 — A short-lived party known as the Anti-Masons met in Philadelphia in 1830. In turn it called for another convention a year hence, Sept. 26, 1831, at Baltimore. It nominated William Wirt for the presidency. And so it all began. This was the first. The founding fathers didn't anticipate conventions, and there is nothing in the Constitution about them. Nor anything about primaries nor political parties. (Incidentally Mr. Wirt's acceptance speech repudiated the party's platform.)

In 1836 Martin Van Buren (Democrat) ran against William H. Harrison (Whig) and won; four years later Harrison ran against Van Buren, and won. Harrison was a doughty general who had never voted and whose last job before selection for the highest office was county clerk. However, the rollicking song "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too" helped put him over. He died a month after taking office.

1844 — Ex-President Martin Van Buren (D) thought he had things sewn up. On the first ballot he was only 31 votes short of the two-thirds then required. But a deadlock developed. James K. Polk got the nomination — was the first dark horse. (Like other noteworthy horses in this stable —Franklin Pierce, James A. Garfield, and Warren G. Harding — he went on to win the race.) A dark horse, of course, is somebody nobody dislikes very much and who is not considered very seriously before the convention.

Issue avoided

1848 — The Whigs ingeniously avoided alienating voters by writing no platform at all. Others have written obscure platforms; the Whigs just didn't write any. Thus they avoided taking sides on the slavery issue. They put up Gen. Zachary Taylor, an unspoiled unsophisticated war hero chosen to cover his party's lack of unity. (It exemplifies the old political adage: "When in doubt, pick a general.") He was "the most ignorant and inexperienced man chosen up to that point for the high office," one historian wrote. The Whigs elected him, but their party thereafter collapsed.

1860 — The recently formed Republicans nominated Lincoln. He had three opponents: Northern Democrats, Southern Democrats, and Constitutional Union Party, and got less than 40 percent of the popular vote cast.

1868—This was the time for another general, Ulysses S. Grant. Generals of the regular Army who have won nomination are Zachary Taylor (W) 1848; Winfield Scott (W) 1852; George McClellan (D) 1864; U. S. Grant (R) 1868; Winfield Scott Hancock (D) 1880; Dwight D. Eisenhower (R) 1952. The foregoing were all on active duty when the preconvention campaigns for nomination started. Generals Leonard Wood and Douglas MacArthur were unsuccessful aspirants. Almost alone, Vietnam has produced no presidential contenders.

Commission set up

1876 — In this extraordinary contest Gov. Samuel J. Tilden (D) of New York, a coldly intellectual bachelor reformer, ran against Rutherford B. Hayes (R), three times Governor of Ohio and a solemn, commonplace conformist. Governor Tilden got a majority of popular votes. The electoral-college vote hinged, however, on three Southern "reconstructed" states: South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, where Republicans controlled state governments and election machinery. There was also a dispute in Oregon. Congress set up an electoral commission (five senators, five House members, five supreme court justices) to decide the issue. What looked like a deal developed. Hayes got the presidency with a one-term pledge and a supposed understanding that civil-rights legislation would be soft-pedaled. The electoral college vote—185 to 184.

1880—On the first ballot in the GOP convention General Grant had 304 and James G. Blaine, the "plumed knight from Maine," 282; necessary to nominate—379. Many didn't want a third term for Grant; many didn't like Blaine, including powerful Roscoe Conkling whose walk had been described by Blaine as "a majestic supereminent, overpowering, turkey-gobbler strut." Rep. James A. Garfield, log-cabin-type Horatio Alger hero, had nominated somebody else in good faith. A lone voice on the convention floor shouted "We want Garfield." In the deadlock Garfield got it — on the 36th ballot.

Party split

1912 — Most thrilling convention year in history. Republicans met first: A historic split between Taft and Theodore Roosevelt left Taft the nominee but took Teddy and liberals out of the party. It produced famous phrases, TR's "My hat's in the ring"; and the comment that Taft forces used "steamroller" tactics. Next came Baltimore and the Democrats. House Speaker Champ Clark of Missouri had a majority on the 10th ballot but lacked the two-thirds then necessary under a rule backed by the South to give it a veto. On the 28th ballot Woodrow Wilson passed Clark. After seven days on the 46th ballot (with the aid of William Jennings Bryan, "the great commoner" and three times nominee himself), Wilson got it.

1920—This year gave the political vocabulary another colorful phrase — nomination "in a smoke-filled room." Americans were tired of war and lofty exhortations, and the Republican power brokers picked as their candidate handsome, fatuous, Warren G. Harding, Senator and small-town Ohio editor. They did this in what is now the presidential suite (rooms 408-9-10) of the Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel (Chicago) overlooking Lake Michigan. The convention adopted a plank obfuscating the League of Nations issue. The GOP overwhelmed Democrat James M. Cox and Harding gave the weary nation "normalcy."

'First' for radio

1924—Some oldsters even now chant the phrase, "Alabama casts twen-ty-fo' votes for Oscar W. UNderwood!" Conventions were on radio for the first time. Calvin Coolidge ("Keep cool with Cal") was the inevitable GOP choice. But Democrats were struggling into a new destiny. Immigration had changed things. Prohibition symbolized the old puritanism. The Eastern democracy wanted Al Smith and the repeal of the dry law; but could a Roman Catholic be president? The old order wanted McAdoo, Wilson's son-in-law and former secretary of the treasury. They met in Madison Square Garden. The longest deadlock in history followed. Votes varied but always over the new-fangled radio at the start of every ballot came the stalwart cry of Alabama for its hero, Underwood.

On the 103rd ballot they named a well-meaning Wall Street lawyer, John W. Davis, described by one as "an ineffectual angel beating his wings in a storm of hard feeling."

Four years later Democrats took the plunge and named Gov. Alfred E. Smith, and in 1932 the party started a 36-year winning streak, interrupted by two terms for General Eisenhower.

1968—? New slogans; new faces. . . . Anything can happen. And very likely will.

Bettmon Archives

New York—1924

Conventions were on radio for the first time. Many remember the Democrats' ballot-opening chant: "Alabama casts twenty-fo' votes for Oscar W. Underwood!" But, after 14 days and 103 ballots, it was Davis, not Underwood, who won.

The politics of now

By Erwin D. Canham

Editor in chief of
The Christian Science Monitor

THE NOMINATING CONVENTIONS ARE A vital part of the American political process.

This year they could be more important than ever.

The issue is whether they will produce nominees who are the genuine result of the flow of public opinion, or whether the nominations are to be "brokered."

If the choice is an authentic reflection of popular thinking, the conventions will have been a useful stage in what is nowadays called participatory democracy.

If the choice is "brokered," or bargained into being in the traditional smoke-filled room, there is likely to be a public revulsion which will be harmful to the national state of mind in this crucial year.

Thoughtful political scientists in various parts of the world point out that at a time of vast mechanistic complexity people tend to feel submerged, their identity blurred, faceless.

Identity crisis frustrating

The frustration of modern youth, the bizarre assertion of individuality in weird clothes, hair-dos, ornamentation and behavior, is a result of this identity crisis for individual man. Young people are expressing a determined and uninhibited individualism.

Applied to the political situation, the frustration tends to alienate the individual from the system. He feels he can do nothing effective to determine the decisions. Thus the basic system, with its urgent component of law, order, peaceful change, and responsiveness to the public will is endangered.

The nominating conventions represent a great test. They could be tremendous exercises in participatory democracy, dramatized and carried into every home by the magic of mass communication. The people at home can participate too, even if vicariously. The speeches, the demonstrations and marches, the ultimate voting can all reflect the forces of popular choice. Or they can reflect the forces of bossism.

Early in 1968, there was great popular discouragement at the expected nomination of President Johnson and former Vice-President Nixon. The assumption of pre-ordained results took all flexibility out of the political system, depriving people of any chance to assert themselves.

But it did not work out that way. Sen. Eugene McCarthy entered the political lists, showed considerable power, and was followed by the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. The opposition to President Johnson, especially to his Vietnam policy, became so manifest that the President wisely removed himself from political contention.

Young people active

And people, especially young people, trooped to New Hampshire, to Wisconsin, Indiana, Oregon, California, and participated enthusiastically in the political process. They had great effect, which was shown finally in the New York primary.

It was clearly proved that the traditionally political process in the United States did have flexibility and responsiveness. The morale of the nation improved greatly, peace talks in Paris began, and vigorous campaigning in both parties continued.

It may well be that both Vice-President Humphrey and Mr. Nixon are the genuine choices of popular opinion in their respective parties. The public opinion polls, though they are not infallible, will have some bearing on such an evaluation.

The behavior of the delegates at Miami and Chicago will also have a bearing. If many delegations are divided, if there is much polling of delegations and expression of opinion, the nation will get the idea that choices are really free.

It is of utmost importance that the conventions shall in fact be free. The delegates should consider their responsibility to national political thought.

They will be operating in goldfish bowls. They can be a most vivid example of participatory democracy, of a town meeting on a national scale blended with some of the attributes of a street fair and carnival.

Thus, the supporters of the present underdog candidates, Senator McCarthy on the Democratic side and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller on the Republican, must not assume that the defeat of their favorites would necessarily be a proof of bossism and unresponsiveness.

The American political system is complex. The people who will be delegates at the conventions have been chosen by methods which mainly represent the party structures. They may or may not affect popular majorities. But the party has its validity, as part of the toal process of political decision.

But the danger is that party functionaries will prefer retaining control of its mechanism to winning a national election. This has happened, especially among the Republicans and the Southern Democrats.

Genuine choice possible

On the whole there is no basic reason why the two conventions should not produce choices authentically reflecting composite national opinion. The issues are not open and shut. The four contenders are men of experience, character, intelligence, and determination.

Each has his strengths and weaknesses.

Vice-President Humphrey bears the burden of an administration with the unpopularity that accumulates with years in office, particularly since it wages an open-ended, costly, highly controversial war.

Former Vice-President Nixon must overcome his past defeats and his image, right or wrong, of an ambitious opportunist.

Senator McCarthy campaigns in low key, is committed to some very venturesome international policies, and has never had the chance to show administrative capacity.

Governor Rockefeller has never made peace with the powerful conservative wing of his own party, which he opposed in 1964.

But on the strong side, each man has had his kind of experience and appeal. Mr. Humphrey has been close to the seats of power and decision for many years. So was Mr. Nixon. Senator McCarthy has refreshing independence. Governor Rockefeller has strongly administered the nation's second most complex executive department.

The extravaganza of mass communication which the nominating conventions have been in recent years may be a boon in 1968.

It may help all citizens gain a sense of participation.

And, hopefully, of effectiveness.

How accurate are the polls?

		Final Gallup Poll	Election results	Off by . . .
Roosevelt	1936	55.7%	62.5%	—6.8%
	1940	52.0	55.0	—3.0
	1944	51.5	53.3	—1.8
Truman	1948	44.5	49.9	—5.4

		Final Gallup Poll	Election results	Off by . . .
Eisenhower	1952	51.0%	55.4%	—4.4%
	1956	59.5	57.8	+1.7
Kennedy	1960	51.0	50.1	+0.9
Johnson	1964	64.0	61.3	+2.7

Poll power

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEVER BEFORE IN AN election year has so much counted on the counters as in 1968.

The counters—or poll takers—this year have flexed their bulging statistics and given the political season some surprising twists. Leading politicians study the latest polls with more rapt attention than a Detroit Tiger fan pores over the American League standings.

Poll power has already helped to change the cast for November's elections. Samples:

● Gov. George Romney of Michigan, once a leading candidate, pulled out of the New Hampshire Republican primary before a vote was cast. The polls showed him trailing badly.

● President Johnson, with one eye on the polls and the other on early primary returns, decided to step down gracefully.

● Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, an avid poll watcher, checked the latest readings before entering the Republican race, while on the Democratic side, Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey was assured by pollsters prior to his entry that he could make a strong showing.

Hatful of victories

Now at convention time, poll power faces its toughest test yet. Delegates in both parties will be challenged to pass up their obvious favorites—Richard M. Nixon and Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey—and nominate the "winners" in the polls, Governor Rockefeller and Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy.

Governor Rockefeller is leaning almost entirely on the polls in his hopes for nomination. Senator McCarthy, who shunned the discouraging pollster reports in the early months of his campaign, now sports a hatful of polling victories.

Just who are these pollsters, whose influence now permeates election campaigns from New York to California?

When most people think of polls, they think of Dr. George Gallup (the Gallup Poll) and Louis Harris (the Harris Survey). Perhaps they also think of a few more of the better-known names—Archibald M. Crossley, John F. Kraft, Oliver A. Quayle III, and Don M. Muchmore.

In fact, a study by Congressional Quarterly turned up more than 200 polling firms, and CQ conceded that even that list was incomplete. Some of these pollsters are careful, scientific, and usually accurate. Others are shallow, inaccurate, and worse than worthless.

Famous fiasco

There are nationwide polls, regional polls, state polls, and city polls. There are door-to-door polls, telephone polls, postcard polls, and street-corner polls. There are public polls and private polls. There are expensive polls and "cheapie" polls. There are polls involving 1,500 people which are highly accurate, and there are polls involving 1 million people which are grossly misleading.

The Gallup Poll uses only 1,500 interviews, but in the last nine national elections it has been off an average of only 1.5 percent. In contrast, the Literary Digest, in its famous 1936 fiasco, polled 2,376,523 people and predicted Gov. Alfred M. Landon would defeat President Franklin D. Roosevelt. That poll was in error by 21.6 percent.

The fact is, it is important not only how many people a poll asks, but which people it asks. And then, how the results are interpreted.

John O. Davies, editor of the Gallup Poll, said in an interview that perhaps the greatest danger in polling is "not so much the polls themselves, but the use that the politicians and the people who contract for the polls make of the results. You can distort results. You can use results to influence one group or another."

Mathematical factors

Another danger, he continued, is the client who wants a poll at a low cost.

"Let's face it. For a good measurement of relative candidate strength . . . at least 1,000 and probably 1,500 interviews are needed to get a very accurate measurement. . . . Of course, you can cut things out. You can bargain. But you get what you pay for."

A poll may be nationwide or only local. But the rules of the game are about the same. To find out, for example, who is leading for president, governor, or mayor, a poll should include about 1,500 interviews.

The reason is mathematical. Mr. Davis says that with 1,500 interviews, a poll can be within 3 percent accuracy at least 95 percent of the time.

But reduce that to, say, 600 interviews, and the margin of error climbs to 5 percent—too high by pollster standards. Two hundred interviews could mean an error up to 8 percent. One hundred interviews, 11 percent.

On the other hand, double the number of interviews to 3,000, and the error drops only a little to 2.5 percent. With 10,000 interviews, the error could still be 2.2 percent.

Thus, in pollster parlance, 1,500 has become the ideal number of people.

Average cross section

But not just any 1,500 people. They must be people who represent an average cross section of the area or nation.

Gallup achieves this by selecting 320 communities or regions. Out of each area about five families are chosen at random by his 1,000 part-time pollsters. When all the results are in, this minisample to a surprising degree parallels the demographic makeup of the United States. If the sampling is slightly off—for example, too many Protestants or too many white-collar workers—a computer is used to make minor adjustments in the final figures.

Good polls like this are expensive. A nationwide, door-to-door poll of 1,500 people can cost from $5,000 to $20,000. The price for the major published polls is picked up by subscribing newspapers.

Hard to judge

This year, primary contests have proved nettlesome. Some candidates, particularly Senator McCarthy, were badly underrated. Pollsters say primaries are especially hard to judge for several reasons. Among them:

1. Voter turnout. Unlike nationwide elections, it's very hard to judge who will actually vote in a primary. Turnouts range from 10 to 70 percent and depend heavily on weather and other flighty factors.

2. The undecided vote. There are means of handling this in a national election, where the choice is usually just between Candidate A and Candidate B. But in primaries there are often Candidates A, B, C, D, E, and so on, and that makes things more difficult.

3. Write-ins and party crossovers. These just add to the confusion.

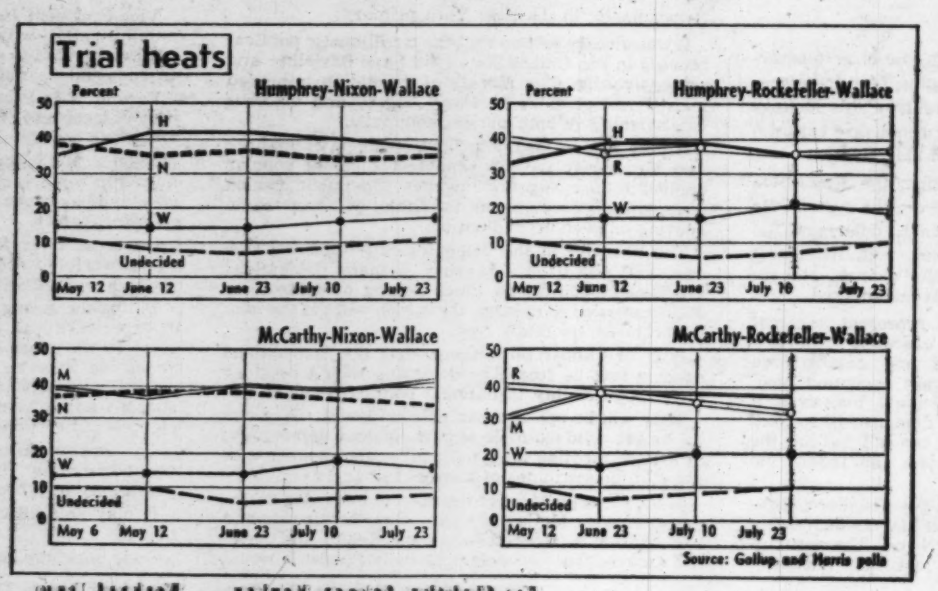
Beyond limits

With all these problems, some of the major pollsters won't touch the primaries. But while the old pros recognize polling's limitations, there are some who push it beyond its limits. Some are obviously ridiculous. But others are more subtle.

Just last month, 10 regularly published polls announced a new organization to put some order into the industry. Their aim: to publicize standards, to help the public interpret polls, to orient the polls toward public service.

Rep. Lucien N. Nedzi (D) of Michigan a month earlier proposed a truth-in-polling bill. It would require a complete report on a poll: the number of people interviewed, methods, questions asked, organizer of poll, results, etc. All this to be filed with the Library of Congress within 72 hours after release.

Pollsters agree that certainly some action must be taken to assure polling accuracy at a time when the hopes of top presidential candidates are pinned to a sheaf of questionnaires.



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Platforms
Walking the planks

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

NO ONE CAN ANTICIPATE the course of platformmaking at the conventions. Since both parties have their liberal and conservative groups there is bound to be some conflict of position expressed at platform-committee sessions. But, in the end, they always arrive at some consensus.

One way to do this is to put the platform planks in broad terms, enough so as to avoid the abrasive differences.

Platform debate at both conventions hold high prospect of fireworks.

Should former Vice-President Richard M. Nixon and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller end up in a hardfought battle for the nomination, the conflict might have its expression in the writing of the platform.

There might be a replay of 1960 — when Mr. Nixon made major concessions to Mr. Rockefeller on several planks. Mr. Rockefeller wanted a stronger civil-rights position and a plank that called for strengthening the United States defense posture. He won on both counts.

This time the differences between Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rockefeller are not so apparent. In both urban problems and Vietnam it is more a matter of emphasis than a black-and-white cleavage.

Governor Rockefeller would appear to stress problem solving in the cities more than does Mr. Nixon and law and order a little less than does Mr. Nixon.

There are some who see in Mr. Rockefeller's emphasis on not escalating, and in de-Americanizing the Vietnam conflict, a more dovish position than that of Mr. Nixon.

At the Democratic convention in Chicago the pros and cons of Vietnam war policy will meet in perhaps the year's sharpest confrontation, even though Johnson forces will be in control.

President Johnson will try to see to it that nothing is written that will be an embarrassment to him.

Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey will probably not push for any position that would embarrass the President.

The President's approach to problem solving, both abroad and at home, will be spelled out and applauded.

Then there will be parts of each plank that will be devoted to the road ahead, new approaches that will reflect the Vice-President's views. But, again, these approaches cannot in any way be such a radical departure from the old ways as to put the President in a bad light.

The Republicans, with no ties to an incumbent administration's position, may well break some new ground in their platform.

Undoubtedly, they will have a plank in which they endorse tax incentives for business as a means of solving urban problems.

They will encourage the private sector to become a major problem-solver of the future, working closely with lower levels of government.

They will back bloc grants to states and lower levels of government.

They will support the sharing of federal revenues with states and lower government entities.

The Democrats undoubtedly will move in this same direction —but only after making it clear that the Johnson way, of big federal programs, is not in any way to be discredited or put aside.

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The platforms last time

Republican

The 28th Republican National Convention in San Francisco turned sharply to the political Right, rejecting the party's moderate, internationalist tone of the postwar years and substituted instead an unabashed conservativism in domestic affairs and all-out nationalism in foreign policy.

The platform committee reported out the most conservative GOP policy document of modern times, condemning the "federal extremists" in domestic policy, calling for a "limited, frugal, and efficient" federal government and demanding "a dynamic strategy aimed at victory" in foreign affairs. The platform struck a moralistic note that was heard frequently in the campaign: it declared that "much of today's moral decline and drift . . . can be traced to a leadership grown demagogic and materialistic through indifference to national ideals founded in devoutly held religious faith."

The platform charged the administration with seeking "accommodations with communism without adequate safeguards," thus pursuing "a risky path such as began at Munich a quarter century ago." The platform considerably modified traditional Republican policies which had favored liberalized immigration and expanded civil rights.

Party moderates, who had been badly beaten within the platform committee, took their fight to the convention floor with proposed amendments strengthening the civil-rights provision, condemning extremist groups of the Left and Right by name, and adding a provision asserting traditional presidential control over the use and deployment of nuclear weapons. They failed on all three. The anti-extremist and nuclear-weapons amendments were overwhelmingly beaten on standing votes.

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, speaking in favor of the antiextremist amendment, was roundly booed by the militant galleries and some of the delegates.

The supporters of Barry Goldwater then forced the defeat of another rather innocuous civil-rights amendment proposed by Michigan Gov. George Romney which called for efforts at individual understanding and acceptance of the problem by state and local governments.

By roll-call vote of 897-409, the convention then rejected an amendment by the then Pennsylvania Gov. William W. Scranton to stiffen and expand the platform plank pledging execution of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Democratic

The Democrats' 1964 platform, striking the President's new theme of the Great Society, was one of consistent moderation, in marked contrast to the militantly liberal tone of the 1960 platform.

The American people were told that "the world is closer to peace today than it was in 1960" and that "in 42 months of uninterrupted expansion under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, we have achieved the longest and strongest peacetime prosperity in modern history."

Responding to Republican attacks on inordinate power in the federal government, the Democrats said that "each level of government has appropriate powers and each has specific responsibilities. . . ."

The platform pledged "enforcement" of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (as opposed to the "full implementation and faithful execution" of the Republican platform) and insisted that control of nuclear weapons remain exclusively in the hands of the President.

The Democrats moved to exploit an exposed Republican flank by condemning "extremism, whether from the Right or Left, including the extreme tactics of such organizations as the Communist Party, the Ku Klux Klan, and the John Birch Society."

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This year's primaries

The primary elections in 1968 told two different and often disparate stories.

On the Democratic side, they told of disenchantment, despair, and finally tragedy. From New Hampshire to South Dakota to California, the message was clear: Democrats wanted a change.

The assassination of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy stunned nation and party alike and brought campaigning to a gloomy standstill for a time.

On the Republican side, they told of one man: Richard M. Nixon. In an impressive display of unity, the GOP rank-and-file lined up behind their 1960 standard-bearer.

It was the Democrats who put on the more impressive show, who got the headlines, brought the gasps, and time after time made the political pundits sound like college sophomores.

The pundits apparently had not accurately gauged the depths of discontent over the war in Vietnam and the racial crisis in the cities. And it was within the Democratic party that the discontent surfaced most strongly.

Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, the handsome, 6-foot 3-inch former economics and sociology professor from Minnesota, gets most of the credit for rousing the country on the Vietnam issue and launching the Democrats on one of the most topsy-turvy primary seasons ever.

The Senator rode a rising wave of dissent on Vietnam — a wave which broke over the President with a roar following the Communist's terrifying February military offensive that shook every major city in South Vietnam. The offensive came just in time to make people listen to the Senator's message before the first primary March 12 in New Hampshire.

Final results in New Hampshire gave President Johnson 27,243 votes (or 49.4 percent), and Senator McCarthy 23,280 votes (42.2 percent), with the remainder scattered. The President's votes were all write-ins, since he was not on the ballot, but his bare margin of victory over a little-known Senator was judged a significant setback. The Senator's enthusiastic campaign team of college students cheered their first "victory." Antiestablishment forces were on the move.

Following New Hampshire, the political scene underwent rapid reassessment. The last president to be rebuffed in a primary was President Truman in 1952. That, too, was in New Hampshire. And it took Mr. Truman just 18 days after that to withdraw from the race.

Mr. Johnson took only one day more. On March 31, 19 days after the primary, he announced over nationwide television that he would not be a candidate for another term. It was weeks before the shock waves quieted.

Even before the President's withdrawal, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy had thrown down a challenge to his Democratic chief. In a speech in the Caucus Room of the Old Senate Office Building, the Senator said he would seek the nomination and would offer the country a Democratic alternative to current policies in Vietnam and in the cities.

Meanwhile, the primaries rolled inexorably on. It was too late for the President to withdraw from Wisconsin, and with his name on the ballot there he was crushed by Senator McCarthy 406,000 to 250,000.

Antiadministration forces gained steadily in strength and confidence. In Massachusetts, Senators McCarthy and Robert Kennedy polled a total of more than 190,000 votes. President Johnson and Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey, champion of administration policy, only gathered a combined total of just over 50,000.

In Indiana, Senators Kennedy and McCarthy drew 530,000 votes, while favorite-son Gov. Roger D. Branigin, a Humphrey supporter, pulled only 234,000.

In Nebraska, Mr. Kennedy, with 51.6 percent of the votes, and Mr. McCarthy, with 30.9 percent, far outpolled all other contenders. In Oregon, their combined total was 83.5 percent. In California, 88.1 percent. In South Dakota, Mr. Humphrey's native state, they won 70 percent.

Throughout these primaries, the administration failed to win a single major victory. Of a total 5.4 million votes cast in eight major Democratic primaries, Johnson-Humphrey forces picked up about 1 million votes, compared to about 4.4 million for the antiestablishment forces. Democratic voters were demanding a change.

Change, however, was not in great demand on the Republican side. Former Vice-President Nixon had been quietly adding friends within his party for four years à la Barry Goldwater's previous campaign. Both the polls and the primaries showed the results. Mr. Nixon was so far ahead of any conceivable rival among the party regulars that Gov. Romney (R) of Michigan tip-toed out of the New Hampshire race even before a vote was cast. And for weeks Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R) of New York put off his entry into the nomination struggle, so slim seemed his chances.

The primaries gave Mr. Nixon nothing but encouragement. In New Hampshire he obliterated the opposition as he won 84,000 of a possible 106,000 votes. In Wisconsin he gathered more than 80 percent of the votes. In Indiana he was unopposed and got the endorsement of 501,000 Republicans. He picked up South Dakota, and in Oregon, supposedly his greatest challenge, he crushed the opposition with 185,000 of a possible 250,000 votes.

Only in Massachusetts were his plans slightly jostled. The voting divided three ways between Mr. Nixon, Governor Rockefeller, and favorite-son Gov. John A. Volpe, a Nixon supporter. The New York Governor eked out a 499-vote victory margin, and took all the delegates.

But even with extensive endorsement for Mr. Nixon in the primaries, some doubts lurk in the GOP camp. Republicans make up only about 30 percent of the American electorate, and this minority position requires them to woo Democratic and Independent voters if they are to capture the White House.

Thus with a popular hero like General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the GOP swept to an easy victory in 1952. But with a party favorite, hardline conservative Barry Goldwater, the Republicans were edged out in 1964.

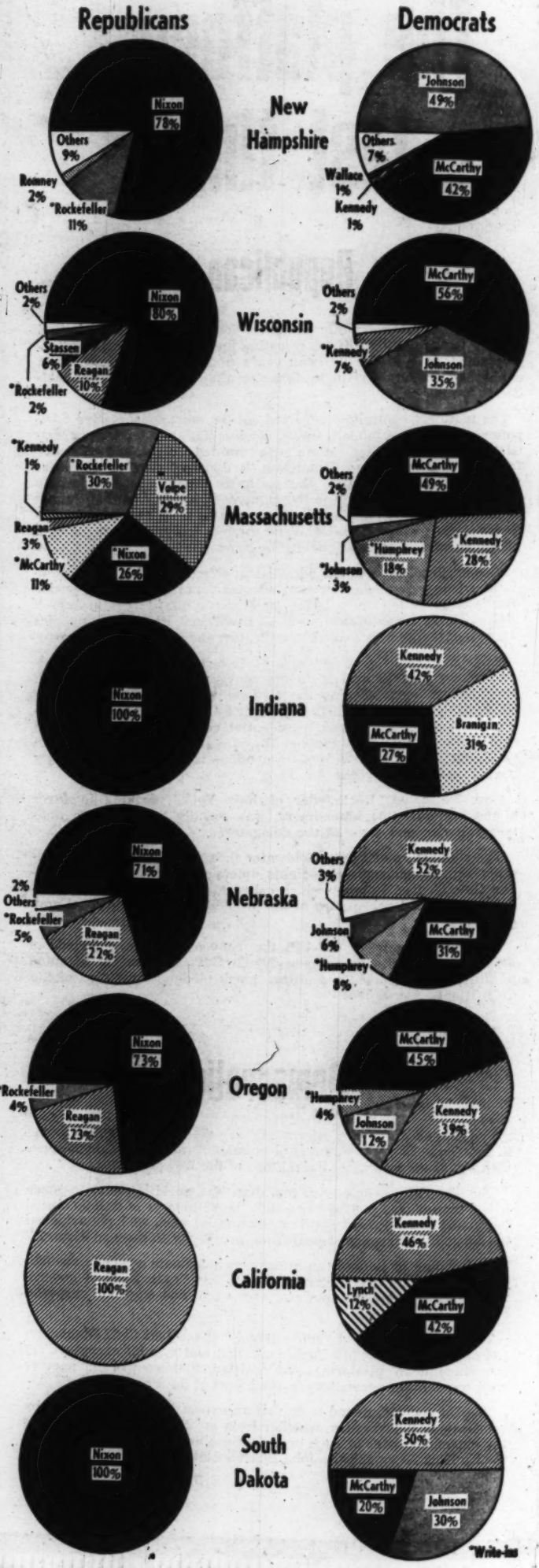
The big question for Republicans: Can Mr. Nixon (or conservative Ronald Reagan) chop off enough Democratic and Independent votes to overcome the minority position of his party? Or would the GOP fare better with someone exhibiting a more liberal stance—namely, Mr. Rockefeller?

The big question for Democrats: Can Vice-President Humphrey step out of the shadow of President Johnson to be his own man? Is it possible that Senator McCarthy or some other anti-Vietnam war candidate will emerge victor?

This is something only the coming conventions, not the primaries, can decide.

Thus primaries do have their own role in the hodge-podge framework of American politics as a testing-ground for ideas, issues, and candidates. But until a better way is found, both parties must rely on their conventions to choose not only their parties' "favorite" candidates, but also the most likely winners.

J. D.



By Melvin Maddocks
Book editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The camera aye

THE POLITICAL CONVENTIONS on TV are like some giant company picnic that everybody secretly hopes rain will call off. But it never does.

The hours we will all spend staring at Huntley and Brinkley, Cronkite and Sevareid while they stare back at us!

By some combination of curiosity, hope, and conscience, TV viewers are fatefully glued to a spectacle so ill defined that no one even knows how to describe it. Stammering suavely for the right approximation, Eric Sevareid decided political conventions on TV expressed "the ritualistic feeling of a Japanese dance."

Other commentators, at those low points of fatigue that make conventions seem more like a marathon dance, have been less complimentary. "That frightful bilge," Edward P. Morgan once blurted in response to a burst of podium oratory.

"Nothing succeeds like excess," was David Brinkley's reaction to a floor demonstration of willful spontaneity on his monitor.

"It's all so out of proportion," summed up the novelist and playwright Gore Vidal. "There are other things in life."

Network extremes

Vidal (Westinghouse) and former President Eisenhower (reportedly paid $50,000 by ABC) represented the polar extremes of 1964 convention coverage — a logistical exercise to overpower size, sprawl, and confusion, it sometimes seemed, by size, sprawl, and confusion.

While an estimated 35 million watched (20 for NBC, 11 for CBS, 4 for ABC), the networks spent a combined estimate of $7 million on the Republican convention alone, sending 1,500 TV troops into the field, marching, in the case of one network, on regular and "executive" sandwiches — and far outnumbering the delegates.

They besieged, they surrounded, they infiltrated. Exposure was total. And yet somehow the event got away, leaving, as it were, the emotional debris of crumpled banners and abandoned campaign buttons — and not enough more.

Now it is 1968, and the curiosity is still there, the hope is still there, the conscience is still there. But each TV rerun of the conventions presses us all a little harder. The network commentators sound more and more sheepish, like barkers at a carnival in which they have lost confidence. The TV audience, watching the bombast and the hooplah, feel more and more like the only sober people at a party where everybody else is wearing lampshades on the head.

A better way?

Is there a better way to manage it all? Political conventions were shapeless, erratic, self-improvising affairs long before TV cameras started pointing at them. They have always been one of the most testing examples of Americans' mystical faith in the right instincts of democracy in action.

The aggravation is: What happens to the most formless of political ceremonies when the most formless of media is applied to it? Television, the British wit Jonathan Miller once observed, is "a vast, phosphorescent Mississippi of the senses, on the banks of which one can soon lose one's judgment and eventually lose one's mind." When formless event meets formless medium, vagueness and lack of focus can reach awesome extremes.

By now the viewer's affinity tends to be not with the event but with the expert and, alas, partially doomed attempts of the TV commentators to cope. Brinkley's ironic boredom, Cronkite's genial fatigue, Sevareid's moral earnestness, his determination to give point to the nearly pointless—all this is what we identify with, all this is the minidrama within the drama. The weary men in the booth, not the haranguers and the stompers on the floor become our alteregos.

Like the commentators, we have learned all the disillusioning lessons. We have learned that political conventions, like other forms of war, are mostly a matter of waiting.

Just point a camera

We have learned that if you point a camera anywhere, any time, performers — rest assured!—will materialize. And by making an arena a stage, the event will turn into something other than itself.

We have learned of the terrible power of the camera to reduce politicians to actors and history to a bit of rigged theater, complete to chalk marks.

We have waited for national epiphanies and witnessed instead the farce of TV reporters being arrested for clogging the aisles ("This is John Chancellor — somewhere in custody," NBC's man on the floor once had to sign off).

Still we watch, and still we wait. For to assume that political conventions are as silly or as empty or as chaotic as TV sometimes makes them look would somehow cut too close to the respect we want to feel for our whole elective process.

We watch, and we wait for our politicians to watch too — to see in TV's banal, unblinking eye the reflection of their own excesses. If the politicians are embarrassed into a kind of deflation finally — a reduction in size and volume, a switch in style to the low-key and less pretentious — the medium will have done what it can to affect the message.

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Convention voting:

Republican

1940—Philadelphia

For president: Wendell L. Willkie, Ind. (ballots as follows):

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Dewey, N.Y.	360	338	315	250	57	11
Taft, Ohio	189	203	212	254	377	310
Willkie	105	171	259	306	429	633
Vandenberg, Mich	76	73	72	61	42	—
James, Pa.	74	66	59	56	59	1
Martin, Mass.	44	26	—	—	—	—
McNider, Iowa	34	34	28	26	4	1
Gannett, N.Y.	33	30	11	4	1	1
Bridges, N.H.	29	9	1	1	—	—
Hoover, Calif.	17	—	—	—	20	9
McNary, Ore	13	10	10	8	9	—

For vice-president: Charles L. McNary, Ore. 890
Dewey Short, Mo. 108
Styles Bridges, N.H. 2

1948—Philadelphia

For president: Thomas E. Dewey, N.Y. (ballots as follows):

	1st	2nd	3rd
Dewey	434	515	All
Taft, Ohio	224	274	—
Stassen, Minn.	157	149	—
Vandenberg, Mich.	62	62	—
Warren, Calif.	59	57	—
Martin, Mass.	18	10	—
MacArthur, Wis.	11	7	—

For vice-president: Earl Warren, Calif., nominated by acclamation on the first ballot.

1952—Chicago

For president: Dwight D. Eisenhower, Kan. (ballots as follows):

	1st*
Eisenhower	595
Taft, Ohio	500
Warren, Calif.	81
Stassen, Minn.	20
MacArthur, N.Y.	10

For vice-president: Richard M. Nixon, Calif., by acclamation.

**After switches the totals were: Eisenhower 841, MacArthur 4, Taft 284, Warren 77. A motion to make the nomination unanimous then was agreed to by voice vote.*

1956—San Francisco

For president: Dwight D. Eisenhower, Kan., unanimously nominated on first ballot.
For vice-president: Richard M. Nixon, Calif. unanimously nominated on first ballot.

1960—Chicago

For president: Richard M. Nixon, Calif. 1,321*
Barry Goldwater, Ariz. 10
For vice-president: Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., Mass., unanimously nominated on the first ballot.

**The nomination was made unanimous when the first ballot ended.*

1964—San Francisco

For president: Barry Goldwater, Ariz. (ballots as follows):

	1st
Goldwater	883
Scranton, Pa.	214
Rockefeller, N.Y.	114
Smith, Maine	27
Fong, Hawaii	5
Judd, Minn.	22
Romney, Mich.	41
Lodge, Mass.	2

For vice-president: William E. Miller, N.Y., nominated by acclamation on the first ballot.

From Congressional Quarterly

Democratic

1940—Chicago

For president: Franklin D. Roosevelt, N.Y., by acclamation on the first ballot.

For vice-president: Henry A. Wallace, Iowa, by acclamation on the first ballot.

1948—Philadelphia

For president: Harry S. Truman, Mo. 947½
Richard B. Russell, Ga. 263
Paul McNutt, Ind. ..... ½

For vice-president: Alben W. Barkley, Ky., nominated by acclamation on the first ballot.

1952—Chicago

For president: Adlai E. Stevenson, Ill. (ballots as follows):

	1st	2nd	3rd
Kefauver, Tenn.	300½	362½	279½
Russell, Ga.	267½	294	260
Stevenson	248½	324½	613
Harriman, N.Y.	126	121	—
Kerr, Okla.	69	5½	—
Barkley, Ky.	49½	78½	67½
Williams, Mich.	40½	—	—
Dever, Mass.	37½	30½	½
Humphrey, Minn.	26	—	—
Fulbright, Ark.	22	—	—
McMahon, Conn.	16	—	—
Murray, Mont.	12	—	—
Truman, Mo.	6	6	—
Ewing, N.Y.	4	1	3
Douglas, P., Ill.	3	3	3
Douglas, W. O., Wash	½	—	3

For vice-president: John J. Sparkman, Ala., by acclamation.

1956—Chicago

For president: Adlai E. Stevenson, Ill. (balloting as follows):

	1st
Stevenson	905½
Harriman, N.Y.	210
Johnson, Texas	80
Symington, Mo.	45½
Chandler, Ky.	36½
Davis, Ga.	33
Battle, Va.	32½
Timmerman, S.C.	23½
Lausche, Ohio	5½

For vice-president: Estes Kefauver, Tenn. (ballots as follows):

	1st*	2nd**
Kefauver	483½	551½
Kennedy, Mass.	304	618
Gore, Tenn.	178	110½
Wagner, N.Y.	162½	9½
Humphrey, Minn.	134½	74
Hodges, N.C.	40	½
Maner, Ala.	33	—
Anderson, N.M.	16	—
Clement, Tenn.	13½	½
Brown, Calif.	1	½
Collins, Fla.	1½	—
Symington, Mo.	1	—
Johnson, Texas	½	—

**The nomination was made unanimous when the first ballot ended.*
***After switches the totals were: Kefauver 750, Kennedy 593, Gore 11½, Wagner 6, Humphrey 5½, Clement ½. Following the roll call, the nomination was made unanimous.*

1960—Los Angeles

For president: John F. Kennedy, Mass. (balloting as follows):

	1st*
Kennedy	806
Johnson, Texas	409
Symington, Mo.	86
Stevenson, Ill.	79½
Meyner, N.J.	43
Humphrey, Minn.	41½
Smathers, Fla.	30
Barnett, Miss.	23
Loveless, Iowa	1½
Faubus, Ark	½
Brown, Calif.	½
Rosellini, Wash.	½

For vice-president: Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas, nominated by acclamation on the first ballot.

**The nomination was made unanimous when the first ballot ended.*

1964—Atlantic City

For president: Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas, by acclamation.

For vice-president: Hubert H. Humphrey, Minn., by acclamation.

From Congressional Quarterly

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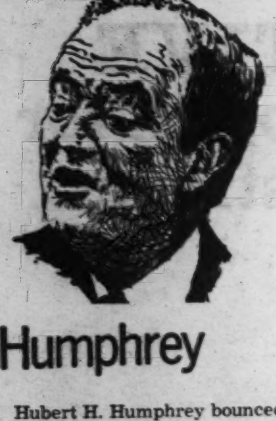

Humphrey

Hubert H. Humphrey bounced his way into politics as a young mayor of Minneapolis in 1945. The former college instructor quickly set about battling crime and reorganizing the city's administration and welfare programs.

In 1947, he moved into the national spotlight by becoming a cofounder of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), a liberal organization formed to fight communism.

He bounced even higher into the national political arena the following year as leader of a group of party liberals fighting for a strong civil-rights plank at the Democratic National Convention. After his successful battle, which prompted several Southern delegations to break off and form their own States' Rights Party, he went on to become the first Democrat from Minnesota ever elected to the United States Senate.

Twenty years later, he's still full of bounce. He still boasts of being a liberal. He points proudly to his past stands for civil-rights legislation, federal aid to education, medicare, and urban renewal.

However, he has lost favor with many liberals in recent years, mainly over his support of President Johnson's Vietnam policies. The ADA leadership itself has abandoned him in the presidential contest for Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy.

A man of action and ideas, Mr. Humphrey at times found the mold of the vice-president's office a bit pinching. He was at his best in the Senate, planning and fighting for liberal legislation. Nevertheless, he has remained loyal to the President, a constant supporter in public of the administration and a spokesman of its policies.

Mr. Humphrey's seemingly boundless energy, coupled with a deep interest in a wide range of subjects—and his ability to talk with ease on all of his interests—have helped to keep his name alive in the national political arena for the past 16 years.

As a young man in 1933, Mr. Humphrey received a degree from the Denver College of Pharmacy. He later majored in political science at the University of Minnesota, earned his master's at Louisiana State University in 1940, and was awarded a teaching fellowship at the University of Minnesota from 1940-41.

One of his special interests has been enforceable worldwide disarmament.

He is married and has four children. He is a member of the United Church of Christ (Congregationalist).

McCarthy

"Gene McCarthy is a man who will go to the well with you . . . my counselor, my colleague, and my friend."

That's how President Johnson described Minnesota Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy in 1964. Since then, for all Senator McCarthy knows, the well has run dry.

Vietnam is what has come between them and the well—and that's the single issue that has boosted the former college professor from St. Paul into national prominence. His outspoken opposition to the President's Vietnam policies has brought him to the threshold of the Democratic National Convention as a hard-running challenger for the presidency.

A onetime professor of economics and sociology, Senator McCarthy shuns the verbosity usually associated with politicians, preferring instead a quiet "discussion" of issues.

Mr. McCarthy was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1948 and was re-elected four times. He established a liberal-internationalist record that has characterized his entire congressional career.

With the exception of the Vietnam war, he has generally supported United States foreign policy. During his 18 years in Washington, he has been the author of few major bills.

Mr. McCarthy was elected to the Senate in 1958. Until he became an outspoken critic of the administration's Vietnam policies in 1966, he attracted little national attention. In 1960, however, he won prominence at the Democratic National Convention for an electrifying speech nominating Adlai E. Stevenson for president.

A Catholic of Irish-German descent, he holds to the Constitution on church-state separation. He also says "parochial education [is] an anachronism."

He taught in Minnesota high schools for several years. He also taught for two years at his alma mater, St. John's University. He worked for the War Department in 1944, returned to teaching, and became acting head of the sociology department at the College of St. Thomas.

Senator McCarthy received his A.B. from St. John's in 1935 and his M.A. from the University of Minnesota in 1937.

He is married and has four children.

Wallace

George C. Wallace was a "bantamweight" boxer as a young man, and he's been fighting ever since.

Short, energetic, and fiery, his primary opponent in recent years has been the federal government, but he's equally adept at flinging verbal onslaughts at all forms of the "establishment."

Although he says he isn't a racist, his primary claim to fame has been his bouts with the federal government in 1963 over its efforts to bring racial integration to Alabama.

In 1965, he again confronted the federal government by refusing to allow civil-rights dem-

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onstrators to march from Selma, Ala., to the capitol in Montgomery.

In 1964 Mr. Wallace entered three presidential primaries in the North. In Wisconsin he received 33.9 percent of the total Democratic vote; in Maryland he won 42.7 percent, and in Indiana he received 29.9 percent of the total vote. He withdrew from the race, however, following Barry Goldwater's nomination as the Republican candidate.

The following year he attempted to push through the Alabama Legislature a bill that would have allowed him a second term as governor. Defeat of the succession bill was a major loss, but his wife successfully ran for governor in 1966, retaining Mr. Wallace as her "No. 1" assistant.

Mr. Wallace waged his first political battle in 1946, when he won a seat in the state House of Representatives. While a member of the Legislature, he ran and was elected judge of Alabama's Third Judicial Circuit.

Mr. Wallace received his law degree from the University of Alabama.

A widower with four children he is a Methodist.

Rockefeller

Being a "liberal" in a basically conservative party has at times been a thorn in the side of Nelson A. Rockefeller.

His divorce and remarriage in 1963 also damaged his national political prospects. He now has a 28-year record of government service, and his long experience in Latin-American and business affairs. He currently is serving his third consecutive term as governor of New York.

Mr. Rockefeller seemed unable to make up his mind whether to campaign this year. Ultimately he decided the Republican convention should be given a choice of philosophies.

In 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt named him Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

The young appointee served as coordinator until 1944, when the President named him assistant secretary of state for American republic affairs.

He also served as undersecretary of HEW, a department he helped set up, and as special assistant for foreign affairs to President Eisenhower.

In 1958, Mr. Rockefeller defeated Democrat W. Averell Harriman in the New York gubernatorial race, and immediately speculation began that he would enter the 1960 presidential contest. The New Yorker became a vocal critic of Vice-President Nixon's views, but finally announced he would support Mr. Nixon — but only after he and Mr. Nixon had met and agreed on a list of 14 "specific positions."

In the 1964 presidential contest, he was again considered a leading contender for the top spot until Barry Goldwater swept the Republican Party in a tide of conservatism. Relations between Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Goldwater are still somewhat strained.

Mr. Rockefeller is a firm believer in using states as testing areas for social-reform programs that, if they prove successful, can be adapted on a national scale.

Mr. Rockefeller attended elementary school at the Lincoln School of Columbia University Teachers College and received his A.B. from Dartmouth College in 1930.

He has married twice and had five children by his first wife and two by his second. He is a Baptist.

Nixon

Born on a lemon farm in Yorba Linda, Calif., Richard M. Nixon has received enough setbacks in recent years to turn most men sour on politics.

After suffering defeats in the 1960 presidential campaign and in the California governor's race in 1962, it looked for a time as if he might turn his back on politics.

He joined a prominent New York law firm and began to travel extensively. However, when the 1966 congressional elections came around, he gave speeches in support of GOP candidates and once again began to sound like a candidate.

Mr. Nixon began his political career in 1946 when he was elected to represent California's 12th Congressional District. He was reelected in 1948, and in 1950 he defeated Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas for a seat in the Senate. In the hard-fought contest he was accused of being a ruthless campaigner, a label that has stuck with him.

He first became known for his 1948-49 investigation of Alger Hiss, a former State Department official accused of being affiliated with Communists. Mr. Nixon spearheaded the House Un-American Activities Committee investigation which led to the conviction of Mr. Hiss on perjury charges in 1949.

In his subsequent campaigning, Mr. Nixon often charged his Democratic opponents with being "soft" on communism.

Elected the second youngest vice-president in United States history, he brought new importance to the office that had traditionally been considered mainly a ceremonial and honorary post. He traveled widely during his term.

He played an active role in the Eisenhower administration and gained widespread attention for a face-to-face debate with Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev. More recently, in 1967, he was denied a meeting with Kremlin leaders, and he was also denied a visa to visit Warsaw.

Mr. Nixon describes himself as a conservative, or middle-of-the-roader. On foreign policy and military matters he takes a hard line, although on some issues — notably the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the 1964 civil-rights bill — he took what were considered liberal positions.

He received his A.B. from Whittier College in California and his LL.B. in 1937 from Duke University. At both schools he was graduated with honors and was student-body president.

He is married and has two children. He is a Quaker.

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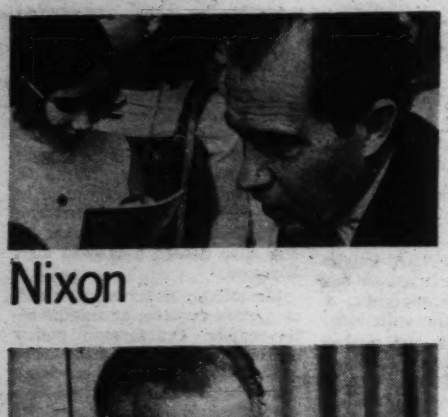


Nixon

Vietnam

"Use military policy to bring about a negotiated settlement." I pledge . . . new leadership will end the war and win the peace in the Pacific." U.S. should use economic and diplomatic pressures, including "our leverage with the Soviet Union." Has supported, generally, present U.S. policy on Vietnam. Prefers a moratorium on Vietnam discussion during the Paris talks.

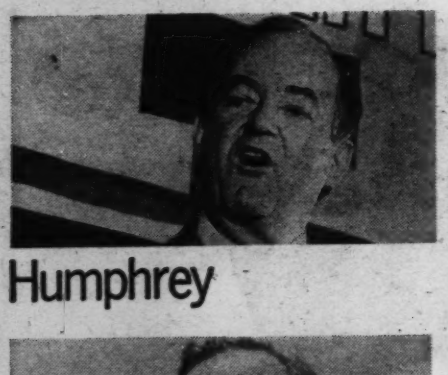
Civil rights

Advocates "a new approach" to the nation's racial problems that he says "ought to be oriented toward more black ownership, black pride, black jobs, black opportunity. . . . What most of the militants are asking is not separation, but to be included in—not as supplicants, but as owners, as entrepreneurs. . . ." Supports civil rights legislation since 1957.

Rockefeller

Four-stage proposal: 1. North Vietnamese move back toward frontier and U.S. forces to populated areas. International force acts as buffer. 2. North Vietnamese withdraw from South Vietnam and U.S. withdraw bulk of forces. International force supervises. Viet Cong renounces force and is guaranteed participation in South Vietnamese politics. 3. Free elections, internationally supervised. U.S. withdraws totally. 4. North and South Vietnam decide whether to unify.

"We in the United States can no longer tolerate the racism—the poverty — the hunger — the absence of economic and educational opportunity that have produced the human suffering and injustice so evident in many communities. . . ." Strongly supports civil-rights legislation on the state and national level. Under him, New York in 1961 enacted the nation's first open-housing law.



Humphrey

Supports Johnson administration policy on Vietnam. "We are seeking to protect the political and territorial integrity of South Vietnam." On Paris talks: "We've almost become accustomed . . . to what the enemy calls fight and talk." But "we're prepared for a cease-fire," and more talk.

Consistently supported civil-rights legislation in his career. In 1948, as a candidate for the Senate, fought for a tough pro-civil-rights plank in the platform which led to a walkout by southern Democrats. Introduced civil-rights bills in almost every session of the Senate from 1949 to 1964. As Vice-President supported the civil-rights bills of 1965, 1966, 1967, and 1968.

McCarthy

Urges a halt to all bombing of North Vietnam preliminary to serious negotiations; halt escalation and freeze troop strength; cease search-and-destroy military strategy; disengage in the South; broaden Saigon's political base giving National Liberation Front a role. Became a candidate because he was so strongly opposed to Vietnam war and the Johnson policy.

Consistently supported civil-rights legislation. Refused to make a "racial appeal" to either whites or blacks to gain votes. Says "the death of racism is a moral necessity of the greatest urgency," Calls for "a new politics." "America is not going to meet problems of the cities, of poverty, or of racism until it accepts the need for a redistribution of power in political and economic institutions."

Wallace

Says he would rely heavily on advice of military on Vietnam. "I want to see an honorable peace, and protection of the integrity of the government and people of South Vietnam. But . . . we should never get involved alone." "It's just as much to the interests of the non-Communist nations of Asia and Europe to defend against Communist aggression as it is to our interest."

A consistent foe of racial integration. As governor "stood in the door" at the University of Alabama in a fruitless effort to prevent two Negro students from registering. Says he would seek repeal of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 if president. Defines civil rights as "freedom of speech and the right of a jury trial and the freedom of the press, freedom of religion."

Reagan—on the issues; Page 17

...and the issues

Economy

Criticizes signs administration may plan defense cuts. To him would be "irresponsible and potentially dangerous." Cutbacks "can and should be made in both foreign and domestic spending — not directly related to present and future American security. Praised Congress for passing the 10 percent tax surcharge coupled with a $6 billion reduction in spending.

Says both spending cuts and a tax increase necessary to ease America's "desperate fiscal and monetary situation." Favors direct federal payments to states and cities based on population and tax effort with no restrictions on use of the funds; broad federal grants to states and localities for such needs as education, health, law enforcement and crime control.

Vigorously supports tax-surcharge. On block grants of federal funds to the states: "Tax sharing not a panacea. . . . Do not think federal government would be keeping proper faith with American taxpayers if revenues are handed over, no strings attached . . . to state and local governments. . . ." Defends deficit spending as legitimate tool "for meeting current obligations."

Agrees to need for tax increase because of Vietnam war. Opposes the 10 percent surcharge as too high. Instead of "lump-sum" grants to the states, prefers "improvement" in existing federal grant-in-aid programs with "better administration . . . by . . . able and intelligent and dedicated persons."

Would economize by cutting foreign aid and parts of the anti-poverty programs. Not opposed to federal money for highways and schools (without strings), but prefers a reduction in federal taxes so that more revenues could be raised on the state level.

Crime

"Should [resist] wanton rioting civil disobedience in the cause of civil rights. . . ." Nation should "meet force with force if necessary, making it abundantly clear . . . retaliation against the perpetrators . . . of violence will be swift and sure." Courts "have gone too far in weakening the . . . forces against . . . crime." "The interstate mail-order shipment of shotguns and rifles should be controlled. . . ."

Introduced New York legislation for more effective gun-control and law-enforcement action. Sponsored successful legislation providing compulsory treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts. "Let's not fool ourselves. The roots [of lawlessness] are not in our courts, or in the myth of softness in high places. They are in the cities. They are poverty, injustice, rot."

Urges that state laws regarding incitement to violence be broadened, strengthened; federal funding to state and local law-enforcement agencies be provided; laws requiring registration of all firearms be adopted by states or Congress; federal, state, and local agencies organize a "massive effort" to stop drug traffic; that "councils for civil peace" be enacted at state and local level.

"Destructivness and violence can be stopped only when we . . . deal with its real causes (not) with symptoms. This aim demands the creation of a new mood in our nation, a mood of hope and love of life rather than that of hopelessness and attraction to the mechanical and lifeless." Favors federal gun-control legislation offering registration of "sidearms and on what is considered heavy arms."

"We've got to change some of the decisions of the courts that have handcuffed the police. . . . We've got to make it possible to put a criminal behind bars." Of riots: "If I become president, I'm going to make it safe in Washington if I have to have it patrolled by armed troops 365 days of the year."

Poverty

Need "imaginative enlistment of private funds, energies, and talents . . . to develop opportunities . . . untapped in our own underdeveloped urban heartland. Would cost little, or no, government money to set in motion many programs that would . . . do the most. . . ." Does not advocate more federal spending. Says such proposals raise the "same false hopes that . . . have been dashed repeatedly on the concrete of reality."

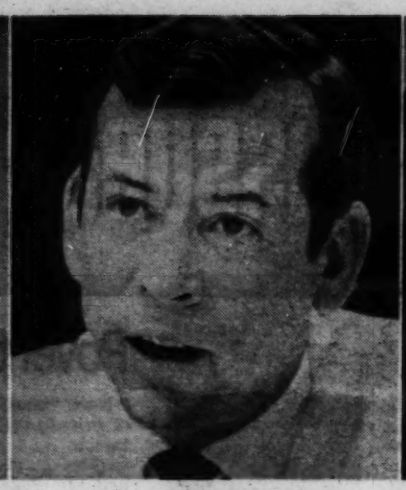
Called for a $150 billion program to rebuild cities over a 10-year period. Thirty billion dollars would go to nonself-supporting facilities (schools, parks, mass-transit systems), and $60 billion for revenue-producing facilities (university buildings, hospitals, and middle-income housing). Urges incentives to attract more billions in private capital. Says such federal and private spending would be a prudent investment.

Proposes establishment of a multibillion-dollar national urban bank, financed mainly through sale of bonds, to make federal guaranteed loans for inner-city development. Government should "act to generate the maximum number of jobs . . . in both the public and private sectors." Calls for immediate action "to establish food-stamp and commodity-distribution programs . . . where severe problems of hunger exist."

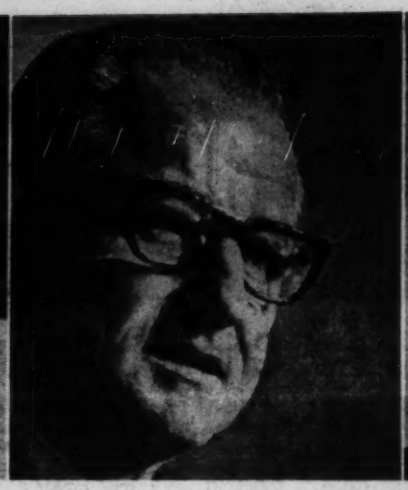
Endorsed riot commission's proposal to build six million low- and moderate-income housing units within five years. (Administration called for same number in 10 years.) "We must spend as much money as it takes . . . as long as it takes" to upgrade quality of American life. Favors guaranteed annual income and a federally subsidized health-insurance program.

Against federal spending to relieve poverty. "I'm for the elimination of poverty, but you've got to let the free-enterprise system help eliminate it." "I might say that no conservative in this country, who comes out against looking after destitute elderly people, ought to be elected to anything."

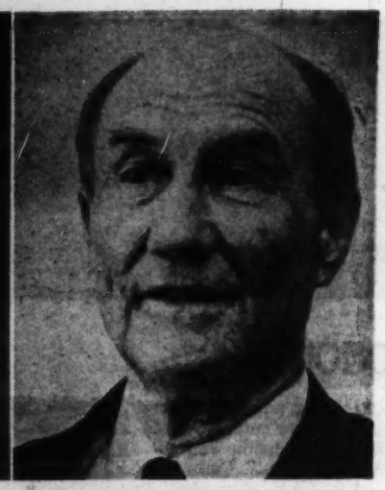
Sen. Hiram L. Fong
Hawaii Republican



Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr.
Tennessee Republican



Sen. George A. Smathers
Florida Democrat



Sen. Strom Thurmond
South Carolina Republican

Favorite sons:

Washington

MAYBE MRS. HIRAM L. Fong breathes the words "President" Fong in her antechamber, but few think the Senator, however admirable, actually will get the Republican nomination at Miami Beach. The fact is, he is a "favorite son."

The same goes for Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D) of Maine, and Gov. Dewey F. Bartlett (R) of Oklahoma.

All told, this preconvention period has produced almost two dozen favorite sons. Candidacies of some have wilted a bit, however, in the summer heat.

In American politics the "favorite son" is a device normally used for keeping a state's presidential delegation intact for bargaining purposes until the convention situation begins to clarify.

Two types

Most delegates want a presidential candidate who can hold together the squabbling elements of the amazing coalitions which comprise American parties. They are loose alliances created to win the stakes of power embodied in the presidency.

For three or four months before and after conventions the parties may look and act like organizations created to operate effectively on a national basis. But when the election is over they normally dissolve back into hundreds of state, city, and county sovereignties.

Favorite sons are an important feature for expediting the essential bargaining process in the compressed time at conventions.

There are normally two types of favorite sons.

The first has some expectation of nomination, and has received national attention. In this category at present are Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York and Gov. Ronald Reagan of California.

The second type may have little hope of nomination but controls local delegate strength while the great gathering continues that is half auction and half Anglo-Saxon folkmoot.

Challenge due

In 1932 House Speaker John Nance Garner was the favorite son of Texas, backed by William Randolph Hearst and William G. McAdoo. By the third ballot Franklin Delano Roosevelt was within 88 votes of nomination under the two-thirds requirement. FDR's manager, James A. Farley, had the vice-presidency as a trading card. Speaker Garner cashed in his favorite-son status, put over Mr. Roosevelt, and received the vice-presidential nomination next day.

The "unit rule" often operates with and builds up the favorite son. This is an agreement that all delegates of a state will vote as a bloc as the majority dictates. Generally about 20 states operate under unit rule.

At Chicago this year Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy expects to challenge the unit rule, operated by the favorite sons. It is one of the peripheral issues which challengers like to force to a vote. They hope uncommitted delegates will be attracted to their side on a moral issue establishing early loyalty.

System worked

The favorite-son system worked typically in 1952. On the Republican side there were three main ones: Gov. Earl Warren of California; former Gov. Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, and Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland.

Mr. McKeldin, with 38 votes, moved from an undecided position to one strongly favoring Dwight D. Eisenhower before the convention opened. He released his delegation on the first day when invited to nominate General Eisenhower.

Mr. Stassen's delegation became rebellious and he authorized them to break ranks if General Eisenhower got 580 votes on the first ballot. (He got 595.)

The California delegation hoped for an Eisenhower-Taft stalemate. They stayed solidly with Mr. Warren till the end.

Adlai E. Stevenson once was an unfavorite son. He met with the Illinois delegation at the Democratic convention in 1952 to ask their help in staying out of the race. He was tapped in spite of it.

R. L. S.

Gov. Raymond Shafer
Pennsylvania Republican

this year's crop

Republicans		Democrats
Alaska	Gov. Walter J. Hickel	
Arkansas	Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller	
California	Gov. Ronald Reagan	
	Sen. George A. Smathers	Florida
Hawaii	Sen. Hiram L. Fong	
Idaho	Sen. Len B. Jordan	
Kansas	Sen. Frank Carlson	
	Gov. John J. McKeithen	Louisiana
	Sen. Edmund S. Muskie	Maine
Maryland	Gov. Spiro T. Agnew	
Michigan	Gov. George Romney	
Minnesota	Gov. Harold LeVander	
New Jersey	Sen. Clifford P. Case	
	Gov. Richard J. Hughes	New Jersey
New York	Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller	
	Gov. Dan K. Moore	North Carolina
Ohio	Gov. James A. Rhodes	
	Sen. Stephen M. Young	Ohio
Oklahoma	Gov. Dewey Bartlett	
Pennsylvania	Gov. Raymond P. Shafer	
South Carolina	Sen. Strom Thurmond	
	Gov. Robert E. McNair	South Carolina
Tennessee	Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr.	
	Gov. John B. Connally	Texas
	Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr.	Virginia
	The Rev. Channing E. Phillips	Washington, D.C.

Sen. Stephen M. Young
Ohio Democrat

Reagan: on the move

By John C. Waugh
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

DOWN THE LONG ROAD to the Republican National Convention Ronald Reagan has answered every rap at his door with: "There's nobody here but us noncandidates."

And almost nobody has really believed him.

The California Governor won 11 percent of the Republican vote in the Wisconsin presidential primary in April. And he won 22 percent of the vote in the Nebraska primary and 23 percent in Oregon in May. In both Nebraska and Oregon his backers waged heavy media campaigns on his absent behalf.

Everywhere, he has talked in the political patois of a candidate. He has talked domestic policy and foreign policy. And he has rapped Democrats in the language of presidential politics.

But the nearest he has come to saying he would run was when he wired the Reagan encampment in Topeka in late June, saying: "My name will be placed in nomination. Obviously, at that time I can be considered a candidate by delegates so inclined."

However, from the beginning the Reagan strategy has been to make himself easy to find. He early took a firm foothold on a fallback position just behind Richard M. Nixon. It was clear that if Mr. Nixon, the front-runner faltered, then most of his backing would stampede to Mr. Reagan.

A paradox began to build around Governor Reagan as spring transmuted into summer. His popularity at home began to erode just as his popularity around the country began to build.

Even as he was winning 22 percent of the vote in Oregon and Nebraska, the California Poll showed him favored by only 9 percent of the Republicans in California. And another poll showed that only 30 percent of Californians thought he was still doing a good job as governor.

As the Miami convention neared, a movement to recall him began to cloud his political horizon.

Mr. Reagan's first year and a half as governor have been tumult-filled. Driving hard to economize he has run afoul of educators, mental health, and welfare advocates in particular. He inherited a budget deficit, and despite his economy-mindness, he has fashioned two record budgets and a whopping tax hike. But in his first year he claims to have saved the state $130 million in economies.

Even though his overall popularity has slipped in the swirl of controversy, the polls show he would win a recall election handily — by two to one.

Governor Reagan has hit hard on the issues nationally. And he has taken hard positions.

He is unmistakably a hawk on Vietnam. In a news conference April 1 he urged "a step-up of the war" rather than a de-escalation. After negotiations opened in Paris he continued to hew to a hard line. He said in New Orleans in May that he thought the United States should threaten to invade North Vietnam if Hanoi's negotiators aren't willing to end the war "peacefully and honorably."

Favorite son or presidential candidate or vice-presidential choice

He repeatedly has scored the Johnson administration for not wielding its military might to end the war—quickly.

In Cleveland in May he said: "Our government is no longer able to muster the resolution to press its cause through to a respectable conclusion against a miserable water-buffalo economy. . . . The reasons for failure are not hard to find. A floundering of purpose has all too often been marked with a loss of nerve."

He is just as bluntly outspoken about checking crime and civil disorder—on the street or on the campus.

"Let government fulfill its responsibility to protect society from the lawbreakers," he said on July 4 in Columbia, Calif., "instead of the other way around and perhaps we would see a decline in the purchase of weapons. We are divided at home and despised abroad."

In a hard-hitting speech in Indianapolis in June — a speech later rerun on national television — he charged: "Permissiveness from cradle to crime is our philosophy and what were once considered privileges are now recognized as rights, and first and foremost is the right to adjust any grievance by the nearest means at hand, be it rock, club, or fire bomb.

"Our Constitution has been eroded by court decisions pretending to extend freedom to all when in reality they gave license to a few."

The Governor has been equally uncomplimentary about the state of the national economy. "Our gold is gone," he said in Oakland, Calif., in June, "paper money can be exchanged anytime for more paper, and our coins rattle with the flat sound of copper. We are no longer in control of our currency, and Europeans have made it plain they are willing to exercise that control to protect their own interests."

He regularly rakes the growth of welfare—calling for "a hand up, not a handout." He epitaphs the war on poverty as a failure and he laments the growth of government bureaucracy.

On civil rights he has said: "We who are white must accept the responsibility for rendering the night rider and his more gentlemanly ally, the friendly neighborhood bigot, impotent. And those good, responsible people who make up the vast majority of the black community, must repudiate the bigots in their midst. Any other path leads only to the jungle, where those who are outnumbered die."

But the Governor opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act and he has in the past opposed a national fair housing law.

In California, however, he has switched from favoring repeal of the State Fair Housing Act to saying flatly he would veto repeal. And in recent months he has conducted dialogues with Negro and Mexican-American spokesmen around the state on the crises of blacks and browns in California cities.

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Anyone for V-P?

Republicans

Lindsay

John V. Lindsay was something of a GOP "maverick" during his seven years as a member of the House of Representatives, from 1959-65.

He voted against a majority of House Republicans on 48 percent of the roll calls which divided the parties. In 1965 he defeated Democratic candidate Abraham D. Beame and New York City's Democratic machine to become Mayor of the largest city in the nation.

He is a graduate of Yale Law School, is married, and has four children. He is an Episcopalian.

Percy

A self-made millionaire, Charles H. Percy rose rapidly to the top in business and politics. He graduated from the University of Chicago in 1941, became president of Bell & Howell in 1948. He ran for Governor of Illinois in 1964 in his first political bid and was defeated. He is considered a liberal in the GOP.

In 1966 he defeated veteran Sen. Paul H. Douglas. A Christian Scientist, he is married and has three children.

Brooke

Edward W. Brooke is the first Negro to serve in the United States Senate since Reconstruction. He won election in 1966 by about 62 percent of the vote of a state that is nearly 98 percent white. He is not a civil-rights militant. On Vietnam, Senator Brooke has favored a limitation of the war. His views are generally on the liberal side. He is an Episcopalian, is married, and has two daughters.

Romney

George Romney's business achievements led to success in Michigan politics. He was first elected Governor in 1962 and again in 1964 and 1966.

In 1968, he campaigned for the presidency for a while but withdrew before the New Hampshire primary in the face of a poor showing in polls. He is generally considered a middle of the roader.

A member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, he is married and has four children.

Scranton

William W. Scranton has insisted that he is absolutely out of political contests. But election-year speculation mentions him as a vice-presidential possibility just the same. Mr. Scranton, while Governor of Pennsylvania, battled Sen. Barry Goldwater's nomination for the presidency in 1964 but supported his election drive. He served in the House from 1960 to '62. He is a Presbyterian, married, the father of four.

Evans

The GOP thinks enough of Washington Gov. Daniel J. Evans to have him keynote this year's convention. He won the governorship in 1964.

Conservative opposition and tax problems may threaten his reelection this year.

Governor Evans holds bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Washington. He is married and has three children. He is a Congregationalist.

Hatfield

Mark O. Hatfield became a figure in national Republican politics in 1958 when he was elected Governor of Oregon for the first time. In 1966, he won Senate election — narrowly — with an anti-Vietnam war campaign.

He is married and has four children. He received a B.A. from Willamette University in Salem, Ore., in 1943 and an M.A. from Stanford University in 1948. He is a Baptist.

Volpe

John A. Volpe, three-time Massachusetts Governor tempts some Republican slatemakers for the balance he could lend the GOP ticket. He is an Easterner, liberal, Roman Catholic, and Italian-American. He is his state's first four-year-term governor. In 1956 he proposed and obtained passage of the nation's first state law prohibiting racial imbalance in public schools. He is married and has two children.

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Second-man theme

Democrats

Bayh

Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh is one of his party's attractive "new faces." He is a popular speaker on the Democratic fund-raising circuit but faces a stiff 1968 reelection battle. He defeated conservative Republican Homer Capehart in 1963 to enter the Senate. Mr. Bayh served in the Indiana House from 1954 to '62. He is a friend of the Kennedy family. He is a Methodist, married, and has one child.

Connally

John B. Connally Jr. was elected Texas governor in 1962.

He is a longtime friend and close associate of President Johnson. He was executive director of the Johnson-for-President organization in 1960, and his appointment as President Kennedy's first Secretary of the Navy in 1961 was attributed to Mr. Johnson's influence.

Mr. Connally received a law degree from the University of Texas. He is married and has three children. He is a Methodist.

Harris

Fred R. Harris served eight years in the Oklahoma Senate before being elected to the U.S. Senate in 1964.

He is a member of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and a member of the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

His wife, LaDonna, is a Comanche Indian; they have three children. He received his bachelor and law degrees from the University of Oklahoma. He is a Baptist.

Docking

Kansas Gov. Robert B. Docking is not widely known but is being mentioned, nevertheless, as a possible Democratic vice-presidential nominee. He will lead his state's delegation to the Chicago convention. His father was the late George Docking, Governor of Kansas from 1957 to '61. He is a graduate of the University of Kansas and the University of Wisconsin School of Banking. He was Mayor of Arkansas City, Kan., from 1963 to 1966. Married, two children.

Sanford

Terry Sanford first won notice as a liberal southern governor of North Carolina from 1961 to '65. He is an attorney and graduate of the University of North Carolina. He has been active in national efforts to improve education throughout the United States. He is backing Vice-President Humphrey for the Democratic presidential nomination. Mr. Sanford is a Methodist, is married, and has two children.

McGovern

South Dakota Sen. George S. McGovern has been discussed as a possible interim candidate at the Democratic convention this year who could hold together delegates once committed to the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. He has been an outspoken critic of President Johnson's Vietnam policies, was elected to the Senate in 1963. He holds a doctorate from Northwestern University, is married, and has five children. He is a Methodist.

Shriver

Sargent Shriver, now U.S. Ambassador to France became a vice-presidential possibility when Senator Edward M. Kennedy refused to be considered for the vice-presidency. He is married to Eunice Kennedy, sister of the late President John F. Kennedy, and has five children. He was first director of the Peace Corps, 1961-65, and first director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, 1964-68. Mr. Shriver is a graduate of Yale, and a Roman Catholic.

Muskie

Maine Sen. Edmund S. Muskie heads for the Democratic convention this year as his state's favorite son. But he's also talked about as a vice-presidential possibility. He served in the Maine House from 1947 to '51; was Governor of Maine from 1955 to '59; and has been in the United States Senate from 1959 to date. He is a graduate of Bates College and Cornell University. Mr. Muskie is a Catholic, married, has five children.

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Underdog opposition

Washington

THE MANAGERS OF GOVernor Rockefeller at Miami Beach and of Senator McCarthy at Chicago would love a strategically arranged preliminary test vote that would put uncommitted delegates on their side as the so-called "Texas steal" did for Gen. Eisenhower in 1952.

Who knows, maybe they can get it.

The two 1968 conventions are of the same type: each party has an "organization" contender who seems almost certain to be nominated on the first ballot, but who is also faced with a lively underdog challenger who might—just might—upset the apple cart.

Strategy is needed and early skirmishes will show whether it will work. Convention history is full of such efforts.

There was that time in 1952 when the challenger, Dwight D. Eisenhower, knocked off the organization candidate, Sen. Robert A. Taft. Taft was much stronger with the regular politicians than with the independents, the Democrats, or the voters-at-large. How could Eisenhower leaders mobilize their sentiment?

Tested on delegates

The preliminary issue came on seating Republican delegations from the South. By a coincidence, back in 1912 President Taft had used these same pocket delegates from the South to get his nomination from Theodore Roosevelt.

In 1952 in no time at all the skillful Eisenhower leaders had built the contest into a well-publicized moral issue and there was little the anguished Taft leadership could do about it, though they made several offers to divide the Southern delegates.

The highest art in the convention preliminary maneuvering is to arrange a strategic vote on which the uncommitted delegates will follow their conscience in a direction favorable to a particular candidate—even a candidate, perhaps, whom they do not necessarily mean to support. They are then to some degree at least committed to the banner of the man with whom they have become associated.

So it was done in 1952. The vote was not directly on seating the delegates, but more shrewdly on an amendment of the rules restricting the contested delegates in their voting after they were temporarily seated. It was all very subtle and clearly forecast the result: Eisenhower forces won, 658 to 548. They did it with 70 votes from California that were not committed either to Taft or Eisenhower, but to Gov. Earl Warren.

The amazing Bryan did an even more spectacular job in the classic case of the 1912 convention. He had been three times leader of his party and was the titular head, and while he was ridiculed by some he was loved by many and tolerated by all. He took full advantage of his unique position.

Financial ties cited

J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, and August Belmont had provided major financial backing for Democratic campaigns. But Bryan asked—and amidst scenes of uproar ultimately received — approval to address the convention. He offered a resolution opposing the nomination of any candidate who is "the representative of, or under obligation to" the three financiers. The confused convention ultimately adopted the Bryan resolution.

Then on the 14th ballot, when Nebraska was called, Bryan asked unanimous consent to explain his vote. He blandly listened to the second screaming uproar he had created. The chairman of Champ Clark's delegation from Missouri magnanimously moved that Bryan be heard, whereat the wily Nebraskan made a speech saying he couldn't vote for Clark as long as the latter got support from the New York Tammany delegation, which had switched to Clark on the previous ballot. Pandemonium! No modern chairman would have permitted such liberties. But every convention is different.

In the Democratic convention this year, for example, Senator McCarthy is himself a delegate. He will also press his case in an address to the convention himself. Certainly there will be efforts both at Miami Beach and at Chicago to drive a wedge between the "organization" group of regular delegates and the independents.

Originally there was the coy rule that possible candidates stayed away from conventions. In fact, they were not supposed to be seeking the great office and knew nothing about the efforts of their friends. Later on they were "notified" of the honor bestowed. Franklin Roosevelt cut through this in 1932 when he flew to the convention and accepted the nomination on the spot.

Up till then the notification of the surprised candidate came four or five weeks later. Wendell Willkie followed the old precedent in 1940 when he was formally notified before an immense crowd at his old home, Elwood, Indiana. TV and radio are enormously speeding things up, however, and the old ceremony is fading.

It seems to be only a question of time when active candidates will not only be on hand at conventions but will perhaps address them before balloting starts.

Conventions are growing less artificial. A foreign observer descended to the basement of Convention Hall in 1948 and discovered to his surprise a full pipe band ready to go on. "The pipe major, in a very pure Glasgow accent," according to Dennis Brogan, "told me it was for Mr. Stassen. Since Mr. Stassen is, I believe, of pure Scandinavian descent, I can only assume that the pipers were called on to prove his devotion to economy." Mr. Brogan explains that "any student of American advertising knows that tartan is the symbol for thrift." Paid bands, of course, are common at such affairs but the tumult and theatrics are being constantly reduced.

The great, dull, preposterous "ovations" of past years can't live under TV. Each ovation had to be as long, or longer, than the one before. Today they sound almost incredible.

Predawn uproar

In 1912, for example, Wilson leaders were determined to outlast Clark supporters. This they did but, at 3:20 a.m. when the noise had almost subsided, a Wilson man with an electric horn started it all up again — for one hour and 15 minutes.

Learned men try to explain the bedlam as a "rally function" of the convention, which starts the national campaign off with a kind of tribal war dance. It has its incongruous side.

Jim Farley tells of his surprise in 1940 at seeing "the austere, impeccable undersecretary of state, Sumner Welles, jogging along. I could have been no more surprised if General MacArthur had trotted by in full-dress uniform. Welles's creased trousers were getting a collection of wrinkles and his collar was wilting. He was going through the motions, but his wan smile was ample evidence that he wasn't really enjoying himself."

This reporter remembers the trumped-up enthusiasm of the dreary 1932 Republican convention at Chicago when the doomed Hoover was renominated. Sen. Simeon D. Fess on the platform held an immense picture of the Great Engineer and moved it from side to side so we all could share it, with a beatific smile on his face. Poor Hoover, he got only 59 electoral votes that year.

Strategy set early

One way or another strategy is set before the conventions start. Front runners Nixon and Humphrey will count their votes, try to prevent defections, and struggle to prevent bitterness that will split their party. Each will point to the opposite party as the true enemy.

Messrs. McCarthy and Rockefeller, meanwhile, not to mention other possible candidates, will seek early test votes under favorable circumstances. They may come over the seating of contested delegates; over the wording of a plank in the platform, or it could be nothing more than a routine rule on the order of business.

If past custom prevails when it is all over the vice-president will be picked as a kind of afterthought.

Vice-presidents are normally chosen to "balance" the ticket. For this purpose somebody who is the opposite of the presidential candidate is selected—from a different region, a different viewpoint or, even perhaps from a different religion.

This has produced strange contrasts.

Bryan, just 36, found himself linked in 1896 with Arthur Sewall, who was 81.

In 1940 Willkie had never before met Sen. Charles McNary, his running mate. The striking combination of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson is familiar.

One of the most unusual teams was Blaine and Logan, who detested each other. As a poet of the day put it (with Logan supposedly speaking):

"We never speak as we pass by,
Me to Jim Blaine nor him to I."

When 1968 conventions are over new stories will be added to the rich folklore of American politics.

R. L. S.

The 'other' parties

American political convention history begins with a nonmainstream political party: the meeting of the Anti-Masonic Party in 1831 to choose candidates for the election of 1832.

Since then, the list of political groupings outside the two major parties of the nation has grown long and varied.

Here in reverse chronology through the most recent years of United States political history is the lineup of parties and their strength at the polls.

1964

Candidates/Party	Popular vote	Electoral vote
Johnson-Humphrey (Democratic)	43,126,233	486
Goldwater-Miller (Republican)	27,174,989	52
Hass-Blomen (Socialist Labor)	44,697	
DeBerry-Shaw (Socialist Workers)	32,327	
Munn-Shaw (Prohibition)	22,962	
Kasper-Stoner (National States' Rights)	6,953	
Lightburn-Billings (Constitution)	5,060	
Hensley-Hopkins (Universal)		
Conservative (no nominees)		

1960

Kennedy-Johnson (Democratic)	34,221,463	303
Nixon-Lodge (Republican)	34,108,582	219
Unpledged electors	462,575	15
States Rights' Party of Louisiana	169,572	
Hass-Cozzini (Socialist Labor)	47,521	
Decker-Munn (Prohibition)	46,203	
Faubus (National States' Rights)	44,977	
Dobbs-Weiss (Socialist Workers)	40,175	
Sullivan-Curtis (Constitution Party of Texas)	18,169	
Lee-Courtney (Conservative Party of New Jersey)	8,708	
Coiner-Silverman (Conservative Party of Virginia)	4,204	
Daly (Tax Cut Party)	1,767	
King-Carter (Afro-American)	1,485	
Curtis-Butler (Constitution)	1,401	
Independent American	539	

1956

Eisenhower-Nixon (Republican)	35,590,472	457
Stevenson-Kefauver (Democratic)	26,022,752	73
Andrews-Werdel (States' Rights)	107,929	
Hass-Cozzini (Socialist Labor)	44,300	
Holtwick-Cooper (Prohibition)	41,937	
Jenner-Lee (Texas Constitution)	30,399	
Dobbs-Weiss (Socialist Workers)	5,549	
Krajewski-Yezo (American Third Party)	1,829	
Hoopes-Friedman (Socialist)	846	
Langer-McCloskey (Pioneer)		
Shelton-Gould (AmericanVegetarian)		
Proehl-Meador (Greenback)		
Byrd-Jenner (States' Rights Party of Kentucky)		

1952

Eisenhower-Nixon (Republican)	33,936,234	442
Stevenson-Sparkman (Democratic)	27,314,992	89
Hallinan-Bass (Progressive)	140,023	
Hamblen-Holtwick (Prohibition)	72,949	
Hass-Emery (Socialist Labor)	30,267	
Hoopes-Friedman (Socialist)	20,203	
Dobbs-Weiss (Socialist Workers)	10,312	
MacArthur-Byrd (America First)	17,205	
Murphy-Gould (American Vegetarian)		
Tomlinson-Bass (Church of God)		
Proehl-Bedell (Greenback)		

1948

Truman-Barkley (Democratic)	24,105,812	303
Dewey-Warren (Republican)	21,970,065	189
Thurmond-Wright (States' Rights Democratic Party "Dixiecrat")	1,169,063	
Wallace-Taylor (Progressive)	1,157,172	
Thomas-Smith (Socialist)	139,414	
Watson-Learn (Prohibition)	103,224	
Teichert-Emery (Socialist Labor)	29,244	
Dobbs-Carlson (Socialist Workers Party, Trotskyites)	13,613	
Smith-Romer (Christian Nationalist)		
Scott-Leeke (Greenback)		
Christensen-Hayes (Farmer Labor)		
Maxwell-Gould (Vegetarian)		

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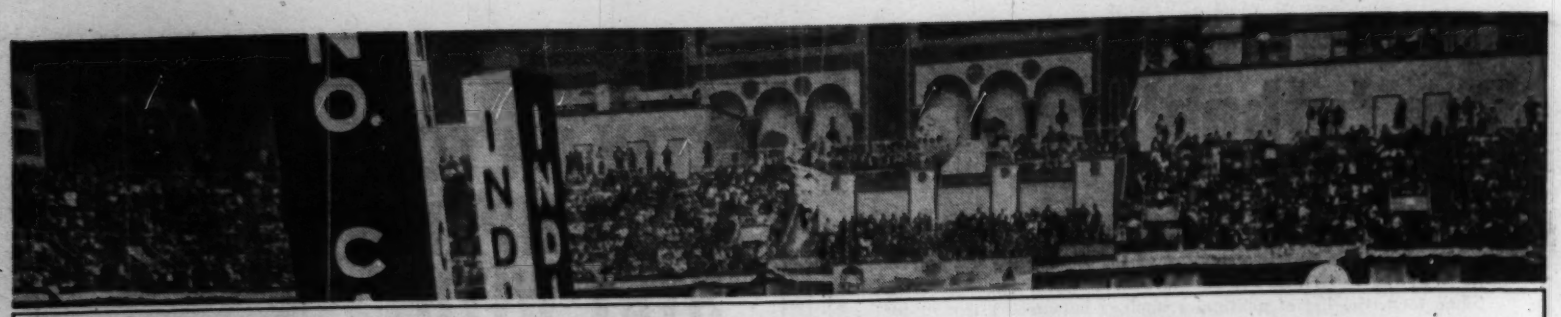
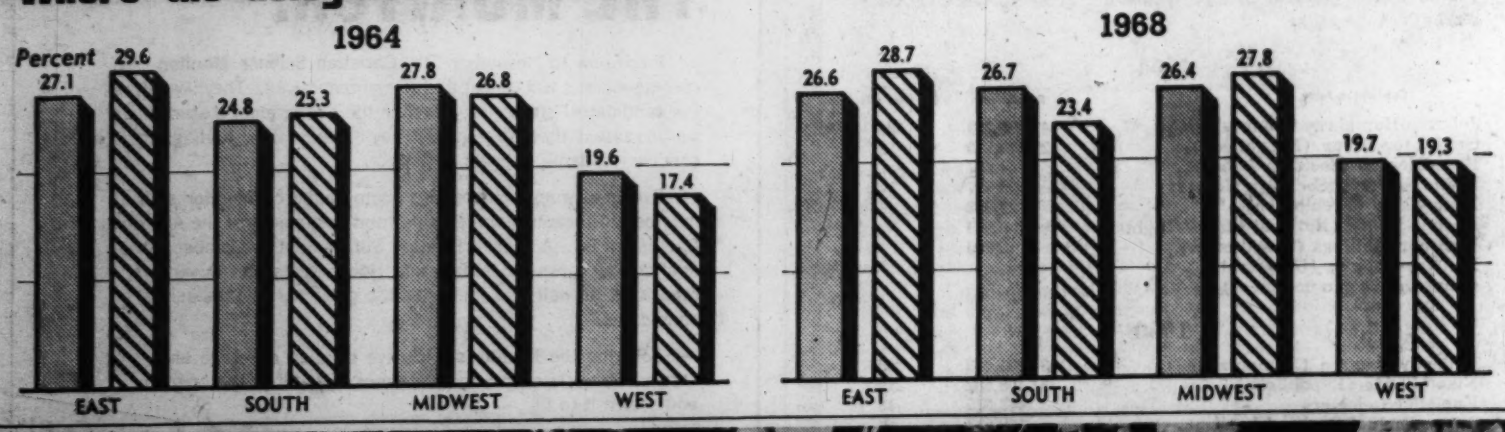


Where the delegates come from



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Earnings per share (9 months ended 6/30/68)	$1.95
90th Quarterly Dividend (declared 7/19/68)	$ .40
Current Annual Dividend Rate	$1.60
Shares Outstanding	1,676,096

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Running the show

Rep. Carl Albert
Democrat chairman

Democratic

Permanent chairman: Rep. Carl Albert (Oklahoma).

Keynoter: Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii).

Temporary chairman: Senator Inouye.

Credentials-committee chairman: Gov. Richard J. Hughes (New Jersey).

Resolutions-committee chairman: Rep. Hale Boggs (Louisiana).

Honorary chairman: Speaker of the House John W. McCormack (Massachusetts), permanent chairman at last two Democratic conventions.

Arrangements-committee chairman: John M. Bailey (Connecticut). The committee has the same membership as the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee.

John Meek, a member of the national committee staff, has been coordinator of most arrangements for the convention sessions, including the convention hall, housing, tickets, and press arrangements.

For some months a strike against the Illinois Bell Telephone Company threatened to hamper convention preparations. Consideration had been given to shifting the convention to another city—possibly to Miami Beach, already set up for the Republican convention.

Republican

Permanent chairman: Rep. Gerald R. Ford (Michigan), House Minority Leader.

Keynoter: Gov. Daniel J. Evans (Washington).

Temporary chairman: Sen. Edward W. Brooke (Massachusetts).

Call-committee chairman: Mrs. Edgar L. Morris (South Carolina).

Credentials-committee chairman: to be named at convention. Probably Robert D. Stuart (Illinois), chairman of the preconvention contest committee.

Rules-committee chairman: To be named at the convention. Probably Charles E. Wittenmeyer (Iowa), chairman of the preconvention rules committee.

Platform-committee chairman: To be named at convention. Probably Senate Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen (Illinois), who was named to head preconvention resolutions committee.

Arrangements-committee chairman: Ray C. Bliss (Ohio); vice-chairman: Donald R. Ross (Nebraska). Major responsibility for arrangements-committee activities is lodged with its executive secretary, State Sen. Robert P. Knowles (Wisconsin). Subcommittees: housing, transportation, tickets, badges, press, periodicals, and photographers, radio-TV, convention theme and program entertainment, convention-hall appearance, concessions and special events, convention-program planning.

Rep. Gerald R. Ford
Republican chairman

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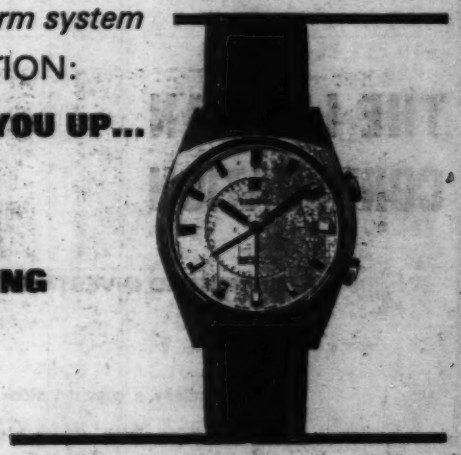

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Political glossary

Acclamation—Nomination by voice vote, rather than a roll call, expressing overwhelming approval. This method is usually used only to nominate the vice-presidential candidate chosen by the presidential nominee as his running mate. At the 1936 Democratic National Convention, however, Franklin D. Roosevelt was nominated for a second term by acclamation.

Adjournment sine die — Adjournment without fixing a day to reconvene; literally "adjournment without day." Marks the official end of a convention.

Bandwagon—An imaginary vehicle which represents the convention or election support of a front-running candidate. Politicians who wish to share in victory jump on (join) the bandwagon. The term may have originated in 1840 when presidential candidate William Henry Harrison began riding with a band on the high circus wagons used in political parades.

Carpetbagger—Speculators in the West before the Civil War who carried carpetbags and Northern politicians and speculators who sought influence in the South during Reconstruction. The term is currently applied to persons who meddle in the politics of a region to which they do not belong.

Caucus—A meeting of a sectional or party group, usually held in secret away from the convention, to decide which candidate to support or what strategy to follow. The origin of this word was an Algonquin Indian term meaning elder or counselor. From 1800 to 1824, a congressional caucus composed of party members nominated candidates for president and vice-president. However, this practice broke down due to objections from most of the candidates and a popular fear that Congress might dominate the executive branch. Writing in 1763, John Adams described a meeting of the North End Caucus Club, organized in Boston before the Revolutionary War by Samuel Adams: "In the garret of Tom Dawes . . . they smoke tobacco till you cannot see from one end of the garret to the other . . . and selectmen, assessors, collectors, wardens, prewards, and representatives are regularly chosen before they are chosen by the town."

Dark horse—A little-known candidate without organized support whose nomination usually results from a deadlock among supporters of major candidates. In racing slang, a dark horse is one who unexpectedly comes from behind to win the race. The first-known political use of the term was in 1860 by Hamilton Fish, a former representative, senator, and governor of New York, referring to a relatively unknown Republican candidate from Illinois named Abraham Lincoln. The term came into general usage in 1876 when applied to Rutherford B. Hayes, the successful Republican candidate for president. Wendell Willkie, the 1940 Republican presidential nominee, was the most recent dark-horse choice.

Draft — The choice of a candidate who made little effort to gain the nomination or proclaimed he was not a candidate. At the 1952 Democratic convention the nomination of Adlai E. Stevenson for president was considered a draft. When the convention deadlocks over major candidates for the nomination, a draft is likely to occur.

GOP — "Grand Old Party," a phrase applied by Republican orators to their party since 1880.

Grass roots — Politically, grass roots refers to the ordinary voter or rank-and-file party member. Sen. Albert J. Beveridge (Ind.), keynoter at the 1912 Bull Moose Party convention, said: "This party comes from the grass roots. It is grown from the soil of the people's hard necessities."

Hat in the ring—Indicates a person is running for political office. The expression originated in frontier America when a man would challenge all comers by tossing his hat into the fighting ring. In 1912 Theodore Roosevelt, a boxing enthusiast, told reporter: "My hat's" in the ring. The fight is on, and I'm stripped to the buff.

Keynoter—The politician, usually the temporary convention chairman, who delivers the keynote address to open the set the theme for the convention. The keynote speech is usually a rousing call to the party's colors and a castigation of the opposition party. The keynote address was once described by writer Mark Sulivan as "a combination of oratory, grand opera, and hog calling."

Mending fences—This expression originated with Sen. John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury under Rutherford B. Hayes. On a visit to his Ohio home in 1879, Sherman made a speech which began: "I found when I arrived in my old home that the papers said I came west seeking the nomination for governor. I came purely on private business — to repair my fences and look after neglected property." At the time newspapers attributed a political significance to the phrase, and a politician who is looking after his political interests in his home district is said to be mending his fences.

Mugwump — A regular party member who votes and acts independently according to his convictions. Originally a Republican who refused to support James G. Blaine, the 1884 GOP nominee.

Old Guard—A term applied to conservative or reactionary members of either party. Supporters of Gen. U. S. Grant at the 1880 Republican convention assumed the title. Sen. Roscoe Conkling, placing Grant's name in nomination, said: "Pull no skulkers from under the ammunition wagon; take the tried and true old hero — with the Old Guard behind him. . . ." In 1877, delegates who supported Grant for a third term adopted as their slogan, "The Old Guard dies, but never surrenders."

Quorum—The number of delegates required to be present for the convention to conduct its business. Both the Republican and Democratic Parties follow the House of Representatives rule regarding a quorum — a simple majority consisting of one-half the members plus one.

Straw vote — An unofficial preelection poll, the term may have been suggested by an old proverb, "Straws show which way the wind blows." Charles (Calico Charlie) Foster is said to have been the first politician to use this method for forecasting an election in 1879 during his campaign for governor of Ohio.

Take a walk — The action taken by a delegation or politician in leaving the convention or defecting from the party because of disagreement over the platform or nominee. The phrase was used by Al Smith when he "walked out" on Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936 and 1940. In 1948 the Dixiecrats "took a walk" out of the Democratic convention in opposition to the civil-rights plank adopted.

Unit rule — The rule in some states which requires the entire vote of its delegation to be cast and counted as if unanimous, according to the majority vote of the delegation members. The unit rule prevails at Democratic national conventions.

From Congressional Quarterly

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YEAR	NO. OF STATES	CANDIDATES		ELECTORAL VOTE		POPULAR VOTE	
		DEM.	GOP	DEM.	GOP	DEM.	GOP
1856 (a)	31	James Buchanan *John C. Breckinridge*	John C. Fremont *William L. Dayton*	174 (59%)	114 (39%)	1,838,169 (45.3%)	1,341,264 (33.1%)
1860 (b)	33	Stephen A. Douglas *Herschel V. Johnson*	Abraham Lincoln *Hannibal Hamlin*	12 (4%)	180 (59%)	1,375,157 (29.5%)	1,866,452 (39.8%)
1864 (c)	36	George B. McClellan *George H. Pendelton*	Abraham Lincoln *Andrew Johnson*	21 (9%)	212 (91%)	1,805,237 (45.0%)	2,213,665 (55.0%)
1868 (d)	37	Horatio Seymour *Francis P. Blair Jr.*	Ulysses S. Grant *Schuyler Colfax*	80 (27%)	214 (73%)	2,703,249 (47.3%)	3,012,833 (52.7%)
1872 (e)	37	Horace Greeley *Benjamin Gratz Brown*	Ulysses S. Grant *Henry Wilson*	(e)	286 (82%)	2,834,125 (44.0%)	3,597,132 (55.6%)
1876	38	Samuel J. Tilden *Thomas A. Hendricks*	Rutherford B. Hayes *William A. Wheeler*	184 (50%)	185 (50%)	4,300,590 (51.0%)	4,036,298 (48.0%)
1880	38	Winfield S. Hancock *William H. English*	James A. Garfield *Chester A. Arthur*	155 (42%)	214 (58%)	4,444,952 (48.1%)	4,454,416 (48.5%)
1884	38	Grover Cleveland *Thomas A. Hendricks*	James G. Blaine *John A. Logan*	219 (55%)	182 (45%)	4,874,986 (48.5%)	4,851,981 (48.2%)
1888	38	Grover Cleveland *Allen G. Thurman*	Benjamin Harrison *Levi P. Morton*	168 (42%)	233 (58%)	5,540,309 (48.7%)	5,439,853 (47.9%)
1892 (f)	44	Grover Cleveland *Adlai E. Stevenson*	Benjamin Harrison *Whitelaw Reid*	277 (62%)	145 (33%)	5,556,918 (46.1%)	5,176,108 (43.0%)
1896	45	William J. Bryan *Arthur Sewall*	William McKinley *Garret A. Hobart*	176 (39%)	271 (61%)	6,502,925 (46.7%)	7,104,779 (51.1%)
1900	45	William J. Bryan *Adlai E. Stevenson*	William McKinley *Theodore Roosevelt*	155 (35%)	292 (65%)	6,358,133 (45.5%)	7,207,923 (51.7%)
1904	45	Alton B. Parker *Henry G. Davis*	Theodore Roosevelt *Charles W. Fairbanks*	140 (29%)	336 (71%)	5,077,911 (37.6%)	7,623,486 (56.4%)
1908	46	William J. Bryan *John W. Kern*	William H. Taft *James S. Sherman*	162 (34%)	321 (66%)	6,409,104 (43.1%)	7,678,908 (51.6%)
1912 (g)	48	Woodrow Wilson *Thomas R. Marshall*	William H. Taft *James S. Sherman*	435 (82%)	8 (1%)	6,293,454 (41.9%)	3,484,980 (23.2%)
1916	48	Woodrow Wilson *Thomas R. Marshall*	Charles E. Hughes *Charles W. Fairbanks*	277 (52%)	254 (48%)	9,129,606 (49.4%)	8,538,221 (46.2%)
1920	48	James M. Cox *Franklin D. Roosevelt*	Warren G. Harding *Calvin Coolidge*	127 (24%)	404 (76%)	9,147,353 (34.2%)	16,152,200 (60.4%)
1924 (h)	48	John W. Davis *Charles W. Bryan*	Calvin Coolidge *Charles G. Dawes*	136 (26%)	382 (71%)	8,386,503 (28.8%)	15,725,016 (54.0%)
1928	48	Alfred E. Smith *Joseph T. Robinson*	Herbert C. Hoover *Charles Curtis*	87 (16%)	444 (84%)	15,016,443 (40.9%)	21,391,381 (58.2%)
1932	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt *John N. Garner*	Herbert C. Hoover *Charles Curtis*	472 (89%)	59 (11%)	22,821,857 (57.4%)	15,761,841 (39.7%)
1936	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt *John N. Garner*	Alfred M. Landon *Frank Knox*	523 (98%)	8 (2%)	27,751,597 (60.8%)	16,679,583 (36.5%)
1940	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt *Henry A. Wallace*	Wendell L. Willkie *Charles L. McNary*	449 (85%)	82 (15%)	27,244,160 (54.8%)	22,305,198 (44.8%)
1944	48	Franklin D. Roosevelt *Harry S. Truman*	Thomas E. Dewey *John W. Bricker*	432 (81%)	99 (19%)	25,602,504 (53.5%)	22,006,285 (46.0%)
1948 (i)	48	Harry S. Truman *Alben W. Barkley*	Thomas E. Dewey *Earl Warren*	303 (57%)	189 (36%)	24,104,030 (49.5%)	21,971,004 (45.1%)
1952	48	Adlai E. Stevenson *John J. Sparkman*	Dwight D. Eisenhower *Richard M. Nixon*	89 (16%)	442 (83%)	27,314,992 (44.4%)	33,778,963 (55.1%)
1956	48	Adlai E. Stevenson *Estes Kefauver*	Dwight D. Eisenhower *Richard M. Nixon*	74 (14%)	457 (86%)	26,027,983 (42.0%)	35,579,190 (57.4%)
1960 (j)	50	John F. Kennedy *Lyndon B. Johnson*	Richard M. Nixon *Henry Cabot Lodge*	303 (62%)	219 (36%)	34,221,349 (50.08%)*	34,108,546 (49.92%)*
1964	50	Lyndon B. Johnson *Hubert H. Humphrey*	Barry Goldwater *William E. Miller*	486 (90%)	52 (10%)	43,128,956 (61.1%)*	27,177,873 (38.5%)*

(a) 1856: Millard Fillmore, American Party, polled 8 electoral votes.
(b) 1860: John C. Breckinridge, southern Democratic nominee, polled 72 electoral votes. John Bell, Constitutional Union, polled 39 electoral votes.
(c) 1864: 81 electoral votes were not cast.
(d) 1868: 23 electoral votes were not cast.
(e) 1872: Horace Greeley died after election; 63 Democratic electoral votes were scattered. 17 were not voted.
(f) 1892: James B. Weaver, People's Party, polled 22 electoral votes.
(g) 1912: Theodore Roosevelt, Progressive, polled 88 electoral votes.
(h) 1924: Robert M. LaFollette, Progressive, polled 13 electoral votes.
(i) 1948: J. Strom Thurmond, States' Rights, polled 39 electoral votes.
(j) 1960: 15 electoral votes cast for Sen. Harry Flood Byrd (D Va.)

** Percentage of major party vote only.*

From Congressional Quarterly

Republican Convention

Formula for apportioning delegates: 4 at-large for each state; 2 at-large for each representative at large; 6 at-large for each state voting Republican for president in 1964 or which elected a Republican senator or governor in 1964 or later; 1 district delegate for each congressional district which cast 2,000 votes or more for GOP presidential nominee in 1964 or Republican representative in 1966; 1 additional district delegate for each congressional district which cast 10,000 votes or more for the Republican presidential nominee in 1964 or for a Republican U.S. House candidate in 1966; special allotments: District of Columbia 9; Puerto Rico 5; Virgin Islands 3.

	Total votes per state	1st ballot Rockefeller	1st ballot Nixon	2nd ballot Rockefeller	2nd ballot Nixon	3rd ballot Rockefeller	3rd ballot Nixon	4th ballot Rockefeller	4th ballot Nixon	5th ballot Rockefeller	5th ballot Nixon
ALA.	26										
ALASKA	12										
ARIZ.	16										
ARK.	18										
CALIF.	86										
COLO.	18										
CONN.	16										
DEL.	12										
FLA.	34										
GA.	30										
HAWAII	14										
IDAHO	14										
ILL.	58										
IND.	26										
IOWA	24										
KAN.	20										
KY.	24										
LA.	26										
MAINE	14										
MD.	26										
MASS.	34										
MICH.	48										
MINN.	26										
MISS.	20										
MO.	24										
MONT.	14										
NEB.	16										
NEV.	12										
N. H.	8										
N. J.	40										
N. M.	14										
N. Y.	92										
N. C.	26										
N. D.	8										
OHIO	58										
OKLA.	22										
ORE.	18										
PA.	64										
R. I.	14										
S. C.	22										
S. D.	14										
TENN.	28										
TEXAS	56										
UTAH	8										
VT.	12										
VA.	24										
WASH.	24										
W. VA.	14										
WIS.	30										
WYO.	12										
D.C.	9										
CANAL ZONE	0										
GUAM	0										
PUERTO RICO	5										
VIRGIN IS.	3										
TOTAL	1,333										

TOTAL REPUBLICAN VOTES 1,333 NEEDED TO NOMINATE 667

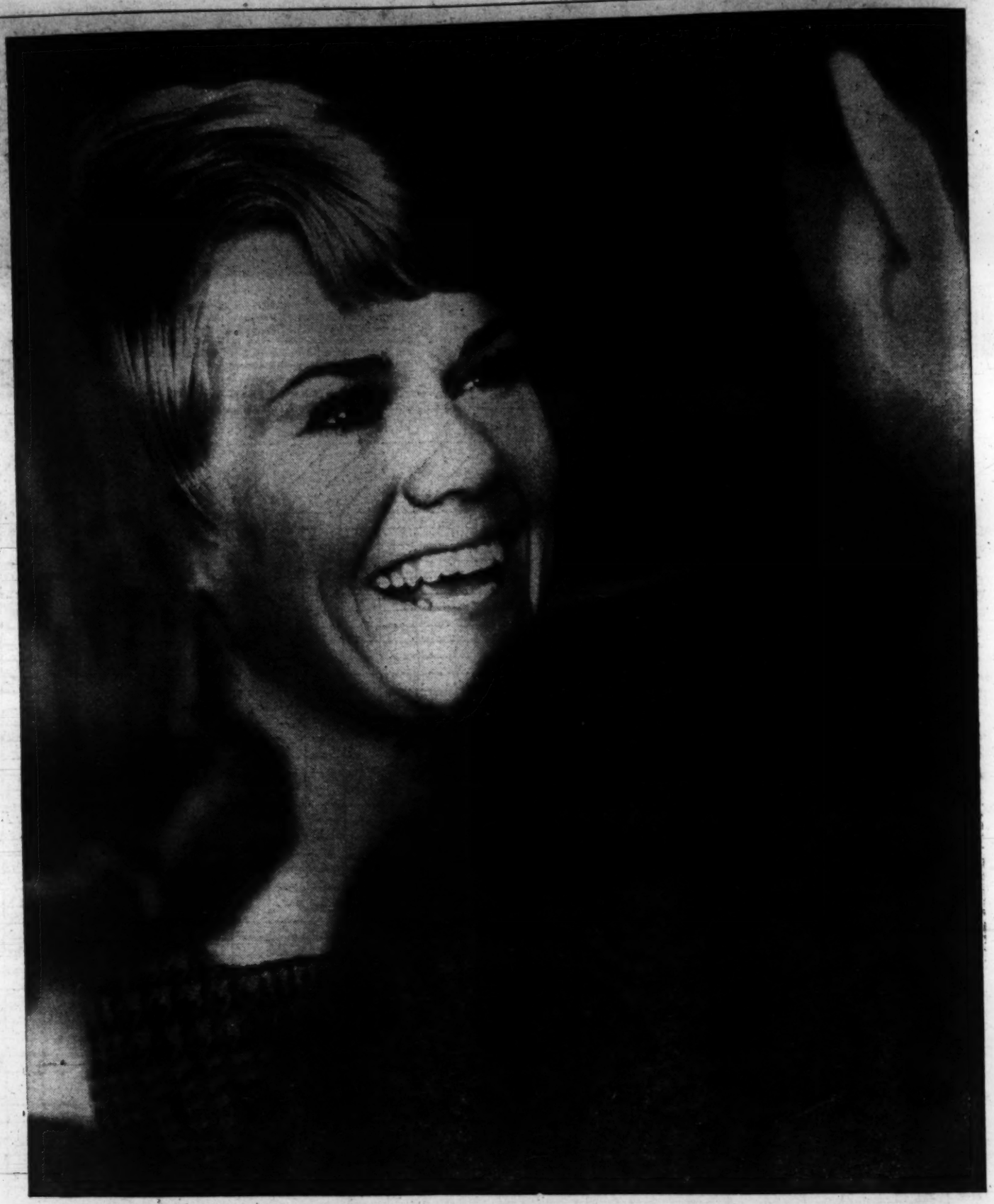
tally sheets

Formula for apportioning delegates: 3 votes for each of a state's electors in the Electoral College; bonus of 1 convention vote for each 100,000 popular votes, or major fraction thereof, cast in state in 1964 for presidential electors pledged to party nominees; victory bonus of 10 votes for each state which cast its electoral votes for the 1964 nominees; one vote each for Democratic national committeeman and committeewoman from each state (a personal vote incapable of exercise by any alternate). In addition, 5 convention votes each to Canal Zone, Guam, and Virgin Islands, 8 to Puerto Rico (including national committeeman and committeewoman).

Democratic

	Total votes per state	1st ballot Humphrey	1st ballot McCarthy	1st ballot Wallace	2nd ballot	3rd ballot	4th ballot	5th ballot
ALA.	32							
ALASKA	22							
ARIZ.	19							
ARK.	33							
CALIF.	174							
COLO.	35							
CONN.	44							
DEL.	22							
FLA.	63							
GA.	43							
HAWAII	26							
IDAHO	25							
ILL.	118							
IND.	63							
IOWA	46							
KAN.	38							
KY.	46							
LA.	36							
MAINE	27							
MD.	49							
MASS.	72							
MICH.	96							
MINN.	52							
MISS.	24							
MO.	60							
MONT.	26							
NEB.	30							
NEV.	22							
N. H.	26							
N. J.	82							
N. M.	26							
N. Y.	190							
N. C.	59							
N. D.	25							
OHIO	115							
OKLA.	41							
ORE.	35							
PA.	130							
R. I.	27							
S. C.	28							
S. D.	26							
TENN.	51							
TEXAS	104							
UTAH	26							
VT.	22							
VA.	54							
WASH.	47							
W. VA.	38							
WIS.	59							
WYO.	22							
D.C.	23							
CANAL ZONE	5							
GUAM	5							
PUERTO RICO	8							
VIRGIN IS.	5							
TOTAL	2,622							

TOTAL DEMOCRATIC VOTES 2,622 NEEDED TO NOMINATE 1,312



"Why didn't you tell me how much fun it is to fly?"

We're sorry she didn't get the message sooner.
But she has it now.
United will fly something like 27 million people this year.
The word seems to be getting around.

fly the friendly skies of United.

"When do we go again?"